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COLLECTED PAPERS - 1

MUTTU PATIPPAKAM
" Madavi "
Alwar Nagar
Madurai - 625019

Publisher : S. Muthu Thirunavukkarasu
Muttu Patippakam, No. 8

© M. Shanmugam Pillai

Price Rs. 12-00

Author : Dr. M. Shanmugam Pillai

Language : English

Contents : Collection of papers dealing with certain aspects of the structure of Tamil, Historical Tamil and Sociolinguistics

Number of copies : 900

Printed at : Tiruvarul Accakam, Madurai.

Copy Right : Dr. M. Shanmugam Pillai

Publisher : S. Muthu Thirunavukkarasu
Muttu Patippakam
''Madavi''
Alwar Nagar,
Madurai-625 019

First Edition : June 1978

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This is the first of my two volumes of collected papers. These papers were written at different times and published in various journals in India and outside. This is divided into three sections. The first section consisting of the first four papers deals with certain aspects of the structure of written Tamil. In the second section, papers 5 and 6 deal with the historical development of Tamil in certain areas. The third section consists of papers dealing with Tamil dialects and their relationship with the Tamil society.

1

Structure of Tamil - Written

Derivative Nouns in Modern Tamil

1.0 This is a study of the derivative nouns in Modern Written Tamil. The conventional orthography is phonemic as far as that variety[1] of Tamil is concerned and in that all the contrasts in it are kept separate. The written Tamil agrees to a large extent with Literary Tamil spoken by the educated within class rooms and on platforms. The analysis of the spoken form—the Colloquial Tamil, which forms the subject for a separate paper by the author leading ultimately to a comparison of the two styles, is a little different, mainly due to a different phonemic system.

n is alveolar nasal, *r* is alveolar trill, and *ẓ* a retroflex frictionless continuant.

2.0 Morphophonemic Rules.

The following morphophonemic rules deal with the changes that occur in the stem.

The morphophonemic changes that occur in the verbal stems when the participial nouns are formed (6.2) are not dealt with here since that forms a separate study under tense formation.

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1. The term variety is used in the sense it is defined in LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN SOUTH ASIA Ed. Charles A. Ferguson and Jhon J. Gumperz, (PP. 3) 1969.

(1) Demonstratives *a, i* and interrogative *e*.

a, i, e,//–Pronominal Suffixes/[2] *av, iv, ev*, respectively.

Exx.	*a* + *an*[3]	avan	
	i + *an*	ivan	
	e + *an*	evan	

(2) *u// - V/O*[4]

Exx.	*karavu*	+ *aṭam*	*karavaṭam*
	cuuṭu	+ *aaṭi*	*cuuṭaaṭi*
	viruppu	+ *am*	*viruppam*
	kuraṅku	+ *aaṭṭi*	*kuraṅkaaṭṭi*
	peeccu	+ *aaḷi*	*peeccaaḷi*

(3) *i// - V/iy*

Exx.	*vaṇṭi*	+ *ooṭṭi*	*vaṇṭiyooṭṭi*

(4) *a//-a/O*

Exx.	*aẓakaana*	+ *avan*	*aẓakaanavan*
	aẓakaana	+ *avaḷ*	*aẓakaanavaḷ*

(5) *am//-an, - i/O*

Exx.	*kañcam*	+ *an*	*kañcan*
	kaḷḷam	+ *an*	*kaḷḷan*
	paavam	+ *i*	*paavi*
	vaaṭam	+ *i*	*vaaṭi*
	upakaaram	+ *i*	*upakaari*
	loopam	+ *i*	*loopi*

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2. For reducing the morphophonemic changes to such formulae Ref. *Kannada Verbs Two Models* by H. S. Biligiri, Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee Volume 11, 1959.
   If more than one rules operate they operate in the order in which the rules are listed.
3. +indicates only the morphemic juncture and does not imply any historical developments.
4. O is zero.

(6) *m//-ṯ, -k/O*

Exx.	*kiraamam*	+ *ṯṯaan*	*kiraamaṯṯaan*
	paṭṭiṇam	+ *ṯṯaan*	*paṭṭiṇaṯṯaan*
	ṉakaram	+ *ṯṯaan*	*ṉakaraṯṯaan*
	paṇam	+ *kkaaran*	*paṇakkaaram*
	paṇam	+ *kkaari*	*paṇakkaari*
	ṉaaṯakam	+ *kkaari*	*ṉaaṯakakkaari*

(7) *m//-ṯ/n*

Exx.	*piṇam*	+ *ṯinni*	*piṇaṉṯinni*
	paẓam	+ *ṯinni*	*paẓaṉṯinni*

(8) *n// - k/ṅ*

Exx	*payaṉṯaan*	+ *koḷḷi*	*payaṉṯaaṅkoḷḷi*
	ṯoorraan	+ *koḷḷi*	*ṯoorraaṅkoḷḷi*

(9) *l//-a/rr*

Exx.	*kal* + *al*	*karral*
	vil + *al*	*virral*
	ṉil + *al*	*ṉirral*

(01) *l//-paṯu/r*

Exx.	*kal* + *paṯu*	*karpaṯu*
	vil + *paṯu*	*virpaṯu*
	ṉil + *paṯu*	*ṉirpaṯu*

(11) N_1C_1*//-am/*C_1C_1

	ṯuuṅku + *am*	*ṯuukkam*
	uraṅku + *am*	*urakkam*
	virumpu + *am*	*viruppam*

(12) The following are the irregular forms. The forms in the first column are the free allomorphs of the stem. The numbers in the second column refer to the classificatory number in which that particular allomorph occurs.

naṯpu	*naṇp* – (5.1)
cineekam	*cineekiṯ* – (5.1)
palam	*palav* – (5.1)
coompal	*coomp* – (5.3)
celvam	*cel* – (5.17)
ṯanam	*ṯana* – (5.17)
ciivu	*cii* – (6.15)
vaa	*varu* - (6.18, 6.24, 6 27)
kaaṇ	*kaaṭ* – (6.22)
kuuvu	*kuu* – (6.23)
nampu	*nampi* – (6.25)

3 0 Demonstratives and the Interrogative as the head.

3.1 With pronominal suffixes

Demonstrative Pronouns-Remote

a-	*avan*	he
	avaḷ	she
	avar	they
	aṭu	it
	avai	they-neuter

Demonstrative Pronouns-Proximate

i-	*ivan*	he
	ivaḷ	she
	ivar	they
	iṭu	it
	ivai	they-neuter

Interrogative Pronouns

e-	*evan*	who – mas.
	evaḷ	who – fem.
	evar	who – pl. non-neuter
	eṭu	which
	evai	which – pl. neuter

4 0 Adjectives as the head.

4.1 With the remote demonstrative Pronouns.

aẓakaana	beautiful	*aẓakaanavan*	beautiful man
		aẓakaanavaḷ	beautiful woman
		aẓakaanavar	beautiful men or women
		aẓakaanaṭu	beautiful one
		aẓakaanavai	beautiful ones
ṇalla	good	*ṇallavan*	good man
		ṇallavaḷ	good woman
		ṇallavar	good women or men
		ṇallaṭu	good one
		ṇallavai	good ones

The adjectives *keṭṭa* "bad", *cinna* "small", *ciṛiya* "small", *periya* "big" also have similar forms.

4.2. Suffix – *ṭṭanam*

kaḷḷa	deceiving	*kaḷḷaṭṭanam*	character of stealing
kañca	miserly	*kañcaṭṭanam*	miserly habit
muraṭṭu	rough	*muraṭṭuṭṭanam*	rough character
acaṭṭu	foolish	*acaṭṭuṭṭanam*	foolishness

These nouns with suffix-*ṭṭanam* refer to quality.

4.3 Suffix – *mai*

peru	*perumai*	proudness, fame
ciṛu	*ciṛumai*	smallness, meanness

5.0 With nouns as head

5.1 With pronominal suffixes.

kaḷḷam	lie	*kaḷḷan*	thief–male
		kaḷḷi	thief–female
kañcam	miserliness	*kañcan*	miser
uuẓiyam	service	*uuẓiyan*	servant
ṇaṭpu	friendship	*ṇaṇpan*	friend
cineekam	friendship	*cineekiṭan*	friend–male
		cineekiṭi	friend–female
palam	strength	*palavaan*	strong man

5 2. Suffix - *i*

paavam	sin	*paavi*	sinner
vaaṭam	argument	*vaaṭi*	plaintiff
upakaaram	help	*upakaari*	one who helps
loopam	miserliness	*loopi*	miser

All these are Sanskrit words ending in - *am*.

5.3. Suffix - *eeṛi*[5]

coompal	laziness	*coompeeṛi*	lazy person
maram	tree	*marameeṛi*	a caste which climbs palm trees for drawing toddy
panai	palmyra	*panayyeeṛi*	a caste which taps palmyra tree

5.4 Suffix – *aṭam*

karavu	theft	*karavaṭam*	theft, the art of stealing

5. *eeṛi* may be derived from *eeṛu* "climb". But *eeṛi* occurs only as a suffix

5.5 Suffix – *am*

viruppu[6]	liking	*viruppam*	liking

5.6 Suffix – *aaṭi*

vaay	mouth	*vaayaaṭi*	one who always talks
peey	ghost	*peeyaaṭi*	one who dances possessed
cuuṭu	gamble	*cuuṭaaṭi*	gambler
kuuṭṭu	dance	*kuuṭṭaaṭi*	one who acts in folk dramas
ṇaaṭakam	drama	*ṇaaṭakamaaṭi*	one who acts in dramas

5.7 Suffix – *aaṭṭi*

kuraṅku	monkey	*kuraṅkaaṭṭi*	one who lives exhibiting monkeys

5.8 Suffix - *aaḷi*

uur	village	*uuraaḷi*	a tribal caste; headman in a village
peeccu	speech	*peeccaaḷi*	orator
ṇooy	disease	*ṇooyaaḷi*	sick person
mutal	capital	*muṭalaaḷi*	capitalist

5.9 Suffix – *aaḷan*

ceyal	action	*ceyalaaḷan*	secretary of a body
poruḷ	riches	*poruḷaaḷan*	rich man; treasurer

5.10 Suffix – *ooṭṭi*

vaṇṭi	cart	*vaṇṭiyooṭṭi*	cart driver
ṭeer	chariot	*ṭeerooṭṭi*	one who drives the chariot
kaar	car	*kaarooṭṭi*	taxi driver

6 *viruppu* itself can be derived from the verb *virumpu* "like". *viruppam* may also be derived from *virumpu* like *ṭuukkam*, and *uṛakkam* derived from *ṭuuṅku* and *uṛaṅku* (Ref. 6. 7.)

5.11 Suffix - *ṭinni*[7]

piṇam corpse	*piṇaṇṭinni* that which feeds on corpse
paẓam fruit	*paẓlaṇṭinni* flying fox

5.12 Suffix - *ṭṭanam*

ciimay one who is proud; disobedient	*ciimayṭṭanam* habit of being proud
caṇṭi obstinate person	*caṇṭiṭṭanam* being obstinate
uṭaari spendthrift	*uṭaariṭṭanam* habit of being spendthrift
poṛukki one who is poor, niggardly person	*poṛukkiṭṭanam* niggardly habit
peeṭi hermaphrodite with female characteristics predominating	*peeṭiṭṭanam* cowardly habit
karumi miser	*karumiṭṭanam* miserly habit
vampu scandal	*vampuṭṭanam* mischief
vaalu mischievous person	*vaaluṭṭanam* mischief

5.13 Suffix - *ṭṭaan*

kiraamam village	*kiraamaṭṭaan* villager
paṭṭiṇam town	*paṭṭiṇaṭṭaan* one who lives in town
ṇakaram town	*ṇakaraṭṭaan* one who lives in town

5.14 Suffix - *kkaaran* or - *kaaran* in the masculine and- -*kkaari* or-*kaari* in the feminine - *kkaaran* and - *kkaari*- occur after vowels, l, and r and the suffixes - *kaaran* and -*kaari* occur elsewhere.

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7. *ṭinni* or *ṭiṇṇi* is derived from *ṭinnu* or *ṭiṇṇu* (6.3) The form *ṭinni* can be used as a free form, *avan oru ṭinn* "he is a glutton." Compare - *eeṛi* (foot note 5)

ṭayir curd	*ṭayirkkaaran* one who sells buttermilk-male
	ṭayirkkaari one who sells buttermilk - female
paal milk	*paalkkaaran* milk man
ciikku sick	*ciikkukkaaran* sickly man
	ciikkukkaari sickly woman
kaaykaṛi vegetables	*kaaykaṛikkaaran* vegetable vendor-male
	kaaykaṛikkaari vegetable vendor-female
miin fish	*miinkaari* one who sells fish -female
vaṇṭi cart	*vaṇṭikkaaran* cart driver

5.15 Suffix - *maan*

ṇiiṭi justice	*ṇiiṭimaan* one who is just
puṭṭi wisdom	*puṭṭimaan* wise man

These are Sanskrit words ending in *i*.

5.16 Suffix - *may*

pakay enemy	*pakaymay* enmity

5.17 Suffix - *vaṇṭan*

ṭanam	riches	*ṭanavaṇṭan*	rich man
celvam	riches	*celvaṇṭan*	rich man

5.18 Suffix - *vi*

manay	house	*manayvi*	wife
ṭuṇay	companion	*ṭuṇayvi*	wife

6.0 With verbs as the head.

6.1 With pronominal suffixes.

ṭaṭṭu	strike	*ṭaṭṭaan*	goldsmith
ṭiruṭu	steal	*ṭiruṭan*	thief - male
		ṭiruṭi	thief - female
		ṭiruṭarkaḷ	thieves

6.2 With participial noun suffixes[8]

vanta	that come	*vantavan*	one who came -male
		vantavaḷ	one who came -female
		vantavar	they who came
		vantatu	that which came
		vantavay	those which came
varukiṟa	that comes		
		varukiṟavan	he who comes
		varukiṟavaḷ	she who comes
		varukiṟavar	they who come
		varukiṟatu	that which comes
		varukinṟavay	those which come
varum	that will come		
		varupavan	he who would come
		varupavaḷ	she who would come
		varupavar	they who would come
		varuvatu	that which would come
		varupavay	those which would come

6.3 With suffix - *i*

tuuṅku	sleep	*tuuṅki*	one who is lazy
poṟukku	pick	*poṟukki*	mean fellow; loafer
(*pul*)*taṭukku*	obstruct	(*pul*)*taṭukki*	weak person
(*uur*)*cuṭṭu*	go round	(*uur*)*cuṭṭi*	one who always roams about without aim
koṭṭu	mince-as birds	*koṭṭi*	one who minces others

8. The participial noun consists of the relative participle and the remote demonstrative pronoun in that order.

tinnu / *tiṉṉu*	eat	*tinni* / *tiṉṉi*[9]	glutton

6.4 Suffix - *eeṟi*[10]

vantu	having come	*van eeri*	interluder

6.5 Suffix - *ai*

kol	kill	*kolay*	murder
vil	sell	*vilay*	price
nil	stand	*nilay*	standing; door-frame
taṭu	stop	*taṭay*	stoppage, obstruction
eṭu	take	*eṭay*	weight
niṟu	weigh	*niṟay*	weight

6.6 Suffix - *aṭam*

kaṭṭu	build	*kaṭṭaṭam*	building

6.7 Suffix - *am*

tiruppu	turn	*tiruppam*	turning
varuṭṭu	suffer	*varuṭṭam*	suffering
aẓuṭṭu	press	*aẓuṭṭam*	deep (person) pressure;
kuuṭṭu	join; gather	*kuuṭṭam*	crowd
aaṭṭu	shake	*aaṭṭam*	dance
vaaṭṭu	dry	*vaaṭṭam*	looking depressed, dejected
ooṭṭu	drive	*ooṭṭam*	run
curukku	shrink	*curukkam*	shrinkage, precis
perukku	multiply	*perukkam*	increase
nerukku	press	*nerukkam*	being crowded
eṟakku	get down	*eṟakkam*	slope
kalakku	mix	*kalakkam*	being confused; confusion

9. Refer foot-note 7.

10. Refer foot-note 5.

ṉiikku	separate	*ṉiikkam*	separation
aṭakku	subdue	*aṭakkam*	quietness
urukku	melt	*urukkam*	sympathy
eemaaṛṛu	deceive	*eemaaṛṛam*	deception, disappointment
eeṛṛu	climb	*eeṛṛam*	climb; water lift
añcu	be afraid	*accam*	fear
ṯuuṅku	sleep	*ṯuukkam*	sleep
uṛaṅku	sleep	*uṛakkam*	sleep

All these stems end in either - C_1C_1u or N_1C_1u, where C_1 is either a stop or *ṛ*

6.8 Suffix - *aṇam*

kaṭṭu	remit	*kaṭṭaṇam*	remittance, fee

6.9 Suffix - *al*

kiiṛu	split	*kiiṛal*	a split

6.10 Suffix - *aaḷi*

piiccu	purge	*piiccaaḷi*	coward

6.11 Suffix - *koḷḷi*[11]

payaṉṯaan	he is afraid	*payaṉṯaaṅkoḷḷi*	one who is afraid
veṭiṯṯaan	he exploded	*veṭiṯṯaaṅkoḷḷi*	one who cannot contain himself
ṯooṛṛaan	he failed	*ṯooṛṛaṅkoḷḷi*	one who failed
**piiccaan*[12]		*piiccaaṅkoḷḷi*	coward

11. Another possible solution would be to set up *aaṅkoḷḷi* as the suffix and set up verbal participial form *payaṉṯu, veṭiṯṯu, ṯooṛṛu, piicci etc*, as the stem

12. The form *piiccaan* is not found. It is set up as a hypothetical form on the basis of analogy.

6.12 Replacement of penultimate vowel *i* by *aa* when the canonical form of the stem is CV*Vppiṭu*

caappiṭu	eat	*caappaaṭu*	meal
kuuppiṭu	call	*kuuppaaṭu*	loud cry

6.13 Length in the first vowel when the canonical form of the stem is CV*ṭu*.

paṭu	suffer	*paaṭu*	hard work
ṯaṭu	obstruct	*ṯaaṭu*	stalks of creepers, of water lilies
cuṭu	burn	*cuuṭu*	a burn
keṭu	destroy	*keeṭu*	destruction
viṭu	leave	*viiṭu*	relief

6.14 Suffix - *ppaṭu* after vowels and - *paṭu* after *r*, *ṉ*

eṭu	take	*eṭuppaṭu*	act of taking
koṭu	give	*koṭuppaṭu*	act of giving
uṭu	dress	*uṭuppaṭu*	act of dressing
poṛu	bear	*poṛuppaṭu*	act of enduring
aṭi	beat	*aṭippaṭu*	act of beating
kaṛa	milk	*kaṛappaṭu*	act of milking
aṭay	close	*aṭayppaṭu*	act of closing
kal	learn	*kaṛpaṭu*	act of learning
vil	sell	*viṛpaṭu*	act of selling
uṉ	eat	*uṉpaṭu*	act of eating
kaaṉ	see	*kaaṉpaṭu*	act of seeing
ṯin	eat	*ṯinpaṭu*	act of eating

This suffix refers to the action.

6.15 Suffix - *ppu*

paku	divide	*pakuppu*	division
kala	mix	*kalappu*	mixture
aḷa	measure	*aḷappu*	vain talk
ṯoku	gather	*ṯokuppu*	collection
ciri	laugh	*cirippu*	laughter

ciivu	comb	*ciippu*	a comb
kuṛi	note	*kuṛippu*	notes; entries
vaku	divide	*vakuppu*	division,class
viri	spread	*virippu*	(bed) spread
kaay	yield fruit	*kaayppu*	yields
vaar	mould	*vaarppu*	moulds

6.16 Suffix - *ṭi*

uur	crawl	*uurṭi*	cart, conveyance
paku	divide	*pakuṭi*	division
ṭoku	collect	*ṭokuṭi*	collection
maṛa	forget	*maṛaṭi*	forgetfulness
miku	increase	*mikuṭi*	increase

6.17 Suffix - *ṭṭi*

aṭar	crowd	*aṭarṭṭi*	denseness
vaḷar	grow	*vaḷarṭṭi*	growth

6.18 Suffix – *ṭal*

aṛi	know	*aṛiṭal*	act of knowing
poo	go	*pooṭal*	act of going
viṭu	leave	*viṭṭual*	act of leaving
vaa	come	*varuṭal*	act of coming
vaaẕ	live	*vaaẕṭal*	living

These refer to the acts.

6.19 Suffix - *ṭṭal* ∽ - *al*, - *ṭṭal* after vowels and *r* and – *al* after other consonants.

ari	sift	*ariṭṭal*	sifting
aṭi	beat	*aṭiṭṭal*	beating
paar	see	*paarṭṭal*	seeing
kaṭi	bite	*kaṭiṭṭal*	biting
eṭu	take	*eṭuṭṭal*	taking
ooṭṭu	drive	*ooṭṭal*	driving
kal	learn	*kaṛṛal*	learning

kaṭṭu	tie	*kaṭṭal*	tying
vil	sell	*viṛṛal*	selling
ṉil	stand	*ṉiṛṛal*	standing
ṭooṇṭu	dig	*ṭooṇṭal*	digging
kiṇṭu	stir; incite	*kiṇṭal*	stirring, inciting
ṭuuṇṭu	incite	*ṭuuṇṭal*	inciting

6.20 Suffix – *ṭṭay*

ṉaṭa	walk	*ṉaṭaṭṭay*	behaviour

6.21 Suffix – *ṭu* ∽ - *ṭu* ∽ *ṭṭu*, *ṭu* after *ṭ*, *ṭu* after *t* and *ṭu* elsewhere

ṭiruṭu	steal	*ṭiruṭṭu*	theft
paaṭu	sing	*paaṭṭu*	song
eẕuṭu	write	*eẕuṭṭu*	letters
ney	weave	*neyṭṭu*	weaving
vaa	come	*varaṭṭu*	coming

6.22 Suffix – *cu* ∽ - *ci* ∽ *cci*, – *cu* after *c*. – *ci* after *ṭ*, and - *cci* elsewhere

eecu	scold	*eeccu*	scolding
peecu	speak	*peeccu*	speech
viicu	wave	*viiccu*	waving
kaaṇ	see	*kaaṭci*	sight
uṇar	feel	*uṇarcci*	feeling
teer	decide, be successful	*teercci*	success
viiẕ	fall down	*viiẕcci*	fall

6.23 Suffix – *ccal*

kuuvu	cry	*kuuccal*	a cry
oẕi	finish	*oẕiccal*	end
kaay	heat	*kaayccal*	fever
ṭuṇi	decide	*ṭuṇiccal*	bravery

6.24 Suffix – *kay*

aẕu	cry	*aẕukay*	cry
vaa	come	*varukay*	coming

6.25 Suffix – *kkai*

iru	sit	*irukkai*	seat
eccari	warn	*eccarikkai*	warning
paṭu	lie down	*paṭukkai*	bed
kiṭa	lie down	*kiṭakkai*	lying down
nampu	believe	*nampikkai*	beief
vaaẓ	live	*vaaẓkkai*	life

6.26 Suffix - *kku*

poo	go	*pookku*	one's movements

6.27 Suffix – *maanam*

ṭiir	finish	*ṭiirmaanam*	verdict, fiinal word
ṭeey	rub	*ṭeeymaanam*	loss by wear and tear
vaa	come	*varumaanam*	income

6.28 Suffix – *may*

varu	fry	*varumay*	poverty

6.29 Suffix – *vaṭu*

poo	going	*poovaṭu*	act of going
vaa	come	*varuvaṭu*	act of coming
ari	know	*arivaṭu*	act of knowing
eri	throw	*erivaṭu*	act of throwing
viẓu	fall	*viẓuvaṭu*	act of falling
ooṭu	run	*ooṭuvaṭu*	act of running
eṇṇu	know	*eṇṇuvaṭu*	act of thinking
paaṭu	sing	*paaṭuvaṭu*	act of singing

This suffix refers to the act and is a productive one.

6.30 Suffix - *vi*

kal	learn	*kalvi*	education
keeḷ	hear	*keeḷvi*	hearing, question

6.31 Suffix -*vay*

kara	milk	*karavay*	amount of milk a cow gives
para	fly	*paravay*	bird
paar	see	*paarvay*	sight

6.32 Suffix -*vu*

paṇi	obey	*paṇivu*	obedience
ṭuṇi	decide	*ṭuṇivu*	decision
ṭeey	rub	*ṭeeyvu*	loss by wear and tear
ari	know	*arivu*	knowledge
ṭaaẓ	fall down	*ṭaaẓvu*	depth; degradation
vaaẓ	live	*vaaẓvu*	life
uyar	rise	*uyarvu*	rise; promotion
kuray	decrease	*kurayvu*	deficiency

7.0 Classification of the suffixes.

7.1 Suffixes found with the demonstratives, interrogative, adjectives, nouns and the verbs.

The pronominal suffixes 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1

7.2 Suffixes found with adjectives, nouns and verbs.
-*may* 4.3, 5.16, 6.28

7.3 Suffixes found with adjectives and nouns.
-*ṭṭanam* 4.2, 5.12

7.4 Suffixes found with nouns and verbs.

-*i*	5.2, 6.3
-*eeri*	5.3, 6.4
-*aṭam*	5.4, 6.6
-*am*	5.5, 6.7
-*aali*	5.8, 6.10
-*vi*	5.18, 6.30

7.5 Suffixes found only with the nouns.

-aaṭi 5.6, *-aaṭṭi* 5.7, *-aaḷan* 5.9, *-ooṭṭi* 5.10, *-ṯinni* 5.11, *-ṯṯaan* 5.13. *-kkaaran*, *-kkaari*, *-kaaran*, *-kaari* 5.14, *-vaṉṯan* 5.17.

7.6 Suffixes found only with the verbs.

Participial noun suffixes 6.2, *-ay* 6.5, *-aṇam* 6.8, *-aṭ* 6.9, *-koḷḷi* 6.11, penultimate *i* replaced by *aa* 6.12, length in the first vowel 6.13, *-ppaṭu* ∽ *-paṭu* 6.14, *-ppu* 6.15, *-ṭi* 6.16, *-ṯṭi* 6.17, *-ṯṯal* ∽ *-al* 6.19, *-ṯṯay* 6.20, *-ṭu* ∽ *-ṯu* ∽ *-ṯṯu* 6.21, *-cu* ∽ *-ci* ∽ *-cci* 6.22, *-ccal* 6.23, *-kay* 6.24, *-kkay* 6.25, *-kku* 6.26, *-maanam* 6.27, *-vaṭu* 6.29, *-vay* 6.31, *-vu* 6.32.

8.0 Verb-Nouns (VN) are used both as verbs and as nouns without any morphological distinction.

ṯaḷḷu	push	*ṯaḷḷu*	a push
ṯiruppu	turn	*ṯiruppu*	a turn
caavu	die	*caavu*	death
mellu	masticate	*mellu*	a chew
ṉiiṭṭu	stretch	*ṉiiṭṭu*	length
aṭi	beat	*aṭi*	blow
kaṭi	bite	*kaṭi*	a bite
piṭi	catch	*piṭi*	a catch

9.0 Adjective-Nouns (AN) are same forms used both as nouns and as adjectives.

kal	stone	*kalṭuuṇ*	stone pillar
pal	tooth	*palpoṭi*	tooth powder
maṇ	sand	*maṇkaray*	sand bank
pon	gold	*ponkaappu*	golden bangles
veḷḷi	silver	*veḷḷiṭṭaṭṭu*	silver plate
ṯii	fire	*ṯiippukay*	smoke of the fire
miin	fish	*miinvalay*	fishing net
paṭṭu	silk	*paṭṭuveeṭṭi*	silk dothi
ṉiir	water	*ṉiirṭṭuvalay*	water drop

2. Interrogatives in Modern Tamil[1]

0. This paper, after describing the interrogative morphemes and their tactics (1-4), attempts to give morphological definition for adjectives in Tamil (5) on the basis of the distribution of the interrogative morpheme ^{m}/*aa*/. On the same basis it attempts to define a compound (6), a phrase (7) and a sentence (8) in Tamil.

1. Modern Tamil has the interrogative pronoun *yaar* "who" and the interrogative morphemes ^{m}/e/ having allomorphs ^{a}/*ev-* ∽ *e-*/ ∞ ^{a}/*evv-* ∽ *eC*$_1$*-*/ ∽ ^{a}/*-ee*/ and ^{m}/*aa*/ having allomorphs ^{a}/*yaa* ∽ *vaa* ∽ *aa*/.

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1. Modern Tamil here referred to, is the modern written Tamil, which represents the formal literary style. The transliteration adopted here is the one followed by the Tamil Lexicon, Madras University, except that *ḷ* is transcribed as *ẕ*, ai as ay, t as *ṯ*, *ṉ* as n and n as *ṇ*. The writing system is phonemic as far as that style is concerned.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Linguistics Research Circle, Annamalai University. The discussion at the meeting of the Circle and with some of his colleagues in the department helped to bring in more clarification. The author expresses his thanks to all of them.

2. *yaar* is an interrogative pronoun for the non-neuter. But it does not indicate any person, number or gender. The following paradigm illustrates this.

naan yaar?	Who am I?
naaṅkaḷ yaar?	Who are we?
nii yaar?	Who are you? (sg.)[2]
niiṅkaḷ yaar?	Who are you? (pl., po.)
avan yaar?	Who is he?
avaḷ yaar?	Who is she?
avar yaar?	Who is he/she? (po.)
avarkaḷ yaar?	Who is he/she? (po.)
	Who are they?

3.1 Interrogative morpheme ^{m}/e/ has allomorphs as distributed below, one set of allomorphs occurring before pronominal terminations and another set before other suffixes. Their distribution is tabulated below.

Initial					Final
Before Pronominal Terminations		Before other suffixes			After *ṯaan*
Before vowels	Before cons.	Before vowels	Before N_1C_1	Before other cons.	
ev- *evan* "who" (mas.)	*e-* *eṯu* "which" (neu.)	*evv-* *evvaaṟu* "how"	*e-* *eṇṯa* which	*eC₁-* *emmuṟay* "in which order"	*-ee* *avan-ṯaanee* "Is he?"

3.2 In allomorph ^{a}/eC₁-/, C₁ is the same consonant as the initial consonant of the following suffix.

3.3 Among the non-pronominal suffixes, some are bound forms and some are free forms.

The interrogatives with bound suffixes are *eṇṯa* "which" *enna* "what", *eṅṅanam* "how", *eppaṭi* "how"

2. sg. is singular, pl. is plural, po. is polite.

eṅku "where", *eṅkee* "where", *eṯṯanay* "how many". Of these-*ṇṯa* (*eṇṯa*) is a morpheme particularising a thing, -*nna* (*enna*) is a morpheme particularising a thing or action, *ṅṅanam* (*eṅṅanam*) is a morpheme indicating the character of an action,-*paṭi* (*eppaṭi*) is a morpheme indicating the character of a thing or an action,-*ṅku* (*eṅku*), *ṅkee* (*eṅkee*) are morphemes indicating the place where an action takes place or a thing is,-*ṯanay* (*eṯṯanay*) is a morpheme indicating the quantity in number.

In syntactical construction *eṇṯa* occurs in immediate constituent construction with a following noun. *eṇṯa aaḷu* "which person?" *eṅṅanam* occurs in immediate constituent construction with a following verb or verb phrase. *eṅṅanam vaṇṯaaṇ*? "How did he come?" *eṅku*, *enna*, *eṅkee*, *eṯṯanay* and *eppaṭi* occur in immediate constituent either with a following noun or a verb. *eṅku poonaan* "Where did he go?" *eṅku aaḷu* "Where is the person?" *enna ceyṯaan*? "What did he do?" *enna ceyṯi?* "What is the matter?", *eṅkee poonaan?* "Where did he go?", *eṅkee aaḷu?* "Where is the person?", *eṯṯanay koṭuṯṯaan*? "How many did he give?", *eppaṭi vilay?* "What is the price?"

3.4 About the free forms, only nouns are suffixed *evvaḷavu* (*aḷavu* "measure") "how much", *emmuṟay* (*muṟay* "order") "what order", *evvaaṟu* (*aaṟu* "way") "how" and so on.

3.5 Allomorph ^{a}/*ee*/ occurs finally only after the emphatic suffix *ṯaan*. *avanṯaanee ceyṯaan*? "He did it, didn't he?". There is also an emphatic suffix *ee* as in *aṯuṯaanee ṇaanum paarṯṯeen* (that is—I also-saw) "That is it. I see", which is homophonous with this allomorph and also occurs after the emphatic suffix *ṯaan*.

4.1 Morpheme ^{m}/*aa*/ has allomorphs ^{a}/*yaa*/ occurring after front vowels, ^{a}/*vaa*/ after central and back vowels and ^{a}/*aa*/ after consonants.

4.2 This morpheme is the closing suffix of nye morphological construction.

4.3 Words may be classified into two classes. Those (1) which cannot have the interrogative morpheme $^{m}/aa/$ even when they occur free[3] and (2) those which can have the interrogative morpheme $^{m}/aa/$ when they occur free.

5.1 Words which cannot have this interrogative morpheme $^{m}/aa/$ even when they occur free, are called adjectives[4] and syntactically they occur in attributive construction with nouns. Different classes of such adjectives are listed below.

5.1.1 Relative participial forms which always occur in attributive constructions with nouns cannot have this interrogative morpheme. *viẓuṉṭa vaṇṭi* (that which fell-cart) "the cart that fell", *vaṉṭa aaḷu* (he who came-person) "the person who came", *keṭṭa payyan* (he who spoiled-boy "bad boy", *ṉalla*[5] *payyan* (he who is good-boy) "good boy", *cinna payyan* (he who is small-boy) "small boy".

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3. Occurring free is the individual occurrence, not as the component of any syntactical construction.

4. Adjectives cannot have suffixes liks *um* "also", *ṭaau* the emphatic suffix etc. which may also be used to define them. But they are not closing suffixes of any morphological construction and are not useful for our applications later in the paper in defining phrases and sentences.

5. *cinna, ṉalla* are taken as relative participle because of the similarity in morphological constructions. Relative participial nouns are formed by suffixing the demonstrative pronoun *avan* to the relative participial forms of verb roots. The same process is found in deriving nouns from *cinna, ṉalla* etc. *vaṉṭa+avan>*

5.1.2 Does not occur with demonstrative adjectives *aṉṭa ṉaaḷu* "that day", *iṉṭa viiṭu* "this house".

5.1.3 Does not occur with the adjectival forms of nouns. *aṭika veekam* (much-speed) high speed, *aka aẓaku* (inside-beauty) purity of mind, *amuṭa curapi* (of nectar-that which gives) a vessel supplying inexhaustible food, *aṭicayap piṛavi* (wonderful-birth) wonderful invaluable birth, *anna ṉaṭay* (of swan-walk) walk of swan, *aakaaya vimaanam* (of sky-chariot) aeroplane, *aayuṭa uṭavi* (of weapon-help) help of war materials, *aananṭa vikaṭan* (of happiness-jester)-name of a weekly, *iṭa nerukkaṭi* (of place, -crowding) crowding of places, *ilakkiya meeṭay* (of literature-expert) literary scholar, *iṉiya kaviṭay* (sweet-verse) sweet verse, *eṇṇa alaykaḷ* (of thought-waves) thought, waves, *kaaṭṭu mirukam* (of forest-animal) forest animal, *kiraama ṉikaẓci* (of village-programme) village programme *veṅkaaya ṭoocai* (of onion-dosai) onion dosai. In the above examples *aṭika, aka, amuṭa, aṭicaya, anna, aakaaya, aayuṭa, aananṭa, iṭa, ilakkiya, iṉiya, eṇṇa, kaaṭṭu, kiraama, veṅkaaya* are adjectives which cannot have the interrogative morpheme $^{m}/aa/$. The nouns formed from these adjectives are *aṭikam, akam, amuṭam, aṭicayam, annam, aakaayam, aananṭam, iṭam, ilakkiyam, inimay, eṇṇam, kaaṭu, kiraamam,* and *veṅkaayam.*

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vaṉṭavan "he who came", *cinna + avan>ciṉṉavan* "he who is small", *ṉalla+avan>ṉallavan* "he who is good". Traditional grammars also consider them as relative participles for other reasons.

6. *aṭicaya+piṛavi>aṭicayap piṛavi.* The following stop is doubled. This is a morphophonemic alternation which will be noticed in many other examples in this paper.

5.1.4 Does not occur with adjectives formed with the adjectival suffixes. *maam paẓam* (*maa>maam*) mango fruit, *aẓakaana peṇ* (*aẓaku>aẓakaana*) beautiful girl, *ṭuuraṭṭu uṛavu* (*ṭuuram>ṭuuraṭṭu*) distant relationship' *caappaaṭṭu veeḷay* (*caappaaṭu>caappaaṭṭu*) meals time, *annayyin aaṇay* (*annay>annayyin*) mother's order.

5.1.5 Does not occur with adjectives derived from numbers. *onṛu* one *>oru, iraṇṭu* two *>iru, onṛaam* first, *iraṇṭaam* second.

5.1.6 Does not occur with adjectives derived from verbs with the suffix *um*, *peecum paṭam* (speaking-picture) talkie, also the name of a film magazine. The same form is also the future neuter finite and then it can have this morpheme. *paṭam peecum* picture will speak, *paṭam peecumaa*? Will the picture speak?. Some more expressions of this type are *koñcum calaṅkay* gingling anklet, *pon viḷayyum puumi* (gold-yielding land) fertile land, *viḷayyum payir* growing seedling.

5.1.7 Does not occur with negatives-negatives formed with the negative suffixes *aa* and *aaṭa*. These negatives are also adjectives and occur in attributive construction with nouns. *aṭaṅkaa uḷḷam* (uncontrollable-mind) mind not in control, *caakaa varam* (not dying-boon) boon for no death, *poruṉṭa uṇavu*(not fitting-food)unsuitable food, *paṭikkaaṭa meeṭay* (not read-scholar) illiterate scholar, *pollaaṭa maniṭan* (wicked-person) wicked man.

5.1.8 Does not occur with possessive pronouns like *eṅkaḷ* "our", *ṉam* "our", *un* "your" (sg.) *uṅkaḷ* "your". (pl.). These are also adjectives and occur in attributive constructions with nouns. *eṅkaḷ ṭalayvan* our leader, *ṉam peeraaciriyar* our professor, *un manayvi* your wife, *uṅkaḷ ṭampi* your younger brother.

5.1.9 Imperative singular forms of verbs are also adjectives and cannot have the interrogative morpheme

$^{m}/aa/$. They also occur in attributive constructions with nouns. *cuṭu ṭoocay* (fry-dosai) hot dosai, *pori kaṭalay* (fry-gram) fried gram, *aṭi maaṭu* (beat-bullock) bullocks fit to be beaten to death, *toṭu vaanam* (touch-sky) portion of the sky that touches the earth. Here *cuṭu*, *pori*, *aṭi*, and *ṭoṭu* are imperative singular forms.

6.1 Such attributive constructions in which the attributes cannot have the interrogative morpheme $^{m}/aa/$ even when they occur free are called compounds.

7.1 A phrase is defined as a syntactic construction consisting of two or more free forms in immediate constituent construction, of which atleast one, excepting the head, is capable of having the morpheme $^{m}/aa/$ when it occurs free, but none can have $^{m}/aa/$ as a component of that construction.

7.2.1 Any noun when it occurs free can have the interrogative morpheme. *miin* fish, *miinaa* Is (it) fish? *pon* gold, *ponnaa*? Is(it)gold? *kaṇṇaaṭi* glass, mirror, *kaṇṇaaṭiyaa* Is (it) glass? But when these nouns occur in attributive constructions with nouns as in *miin valay* fishing net,*pon vaḷay* gold bangles, *kaṇṇaaṭi maaḷikay* glass building, they cannot have the interrogative morpheme.

7.2.2 Phrases with *maṭṭum* alone, only, *viṭṭu* having done and *koṇṭu* having, as heads, cannot have the interrogative morpheme within. *ṉaan maṭṭum* I alone, *raaman maṭṭum* Rama alone, *ṉaan maaṭṭiram* I alone, *raaman maṭṭiram* Rama alone, *koṭuṭṭu viṭṭu* having given, *eṭuṭṭuk koṇṭu* having taken. In these constructions the nouns *ṉaan* I, *raaman* – a personal name, the verbal participles *koṭuṭṭu* having given and *eṭuṭṭu* having taken,can have the interrogative morpheme when they occur free but not in these constructions.

7.2.3 *ṯoṭarṉṯu paṭiṭṭa ṉalla puṭṭakam* (continuing-having read-good book)the good book that was read at a stretch. Here, though *ṯoṭarṉṯu* can have the interrogative morpheme when it occurs free, it cannot have the morpheme in this construction. *paṭiṭṭa* and *ṉalla* are adjectives and hence cannot have the interrogative morpheme even when they occur free. Hence this is a phrasal construction, a noun phrase, the head *puṭṭakam* being a noun.

7.2.4 There are also verbal phrases where the heads are either verb roots or morphological constructions of verb roots. *appoẓuṭu kuṭiraip paṭaiṭ ṯalayyan iruṉṯaal* (then-horse-army-captain-if be) If the captain of cavalry was there then. Here *appoẓuṭu, kuṭiray, paṭay, ṯalayyan,* each can have the interrogative morpheme when it occurs free. *iruṉṯaal,* the head, is the conditional form of *iru* be. *eṅṅanam neeṟṟu ceyṯaan*? (how-yesterday-did he?) How did he do it yesterday? is also a verb phrase.

8.1 A sentence is defined as a syntactical construction of certain terminal contours in which the interrogative morpheme ^{m}/*aa*/ can occur only in one place within it at a time.

8.2 In the following sentence we first give the sentence without the interrogative morpheme and then with the interrogative morpheme at different places within.

8.2.1 *ṉeeṟṟu* (1) *ciṯamparam* (2) *municipal* (3) *ṯeerṯalayk* (4) *kaaraṇam* (5) *kaaṭṭip* (6) *palkalaykkaẓakam* (7) *muuṭappaṭṭaṭu* (8) yesterday (1) Chidambaram (2) municipal (3) election (accusative) (4) reason (5) showing (6) university (7) was closed (8). "The university was closed yesterday showing Chidambaram municipal election as the reason".

8.2.2 *ṉeeṟṟaa ciṯamparam municipal ṯeerṯalayk kaaraṇam kaaṭṭip palkalaykkaẓakam muuṭappaṭṭaṭu* (interrogation on *ṉeeṟṟu*).

8.2.3 *ṉeeṟṟu ciṯamparam municipal ṯeerṯalayyaa kaaraṇam kaaṭṭip palkalaykkaẓakam muuṭappaṭṭaṭu*- (interrogation on *ṯeerṯalay*).

8.2.4 *ṉeeṟṟu ciṯamparam municipal ṯeertalayk kaaraṇamaa kaaṭṭip palkalaykkaẓakam muuṭappaṭṭaṭu*? (interrogation on *kaaraṇam*).

8.2.5 *ṉeeṟṟu ciṯamparam municipal ṯeerṯalayk kaaraṇam kaaṭṭiyaa palkalaykkaẓakam muuṭappaṭṭaṭu*? (interrogation on *kaaṭṭi*).

8.2.6 *ṉeeṟṟu ciṯamparam municipal ṯeerṯalaykkaaraṇam kaaṭṭip palkalaykkaẓakamaa muuṭappaṭṭaṭu*? (interrogation on *palkalaykkaẓakam*).

8.2.7 *ṉeeṟṟu ciṯamparam municipal ṯeerṯalayk kaaraṇam kaaṭṭip palkalaykkaẓakam muuṭappaṭṭaṭaa*? (interrogation on *muuṭappaṭṭaṭu*).

8.2.8 In this sentence "excluding the last word" the interrogative morpheme can occur only in any one of these five places (8.2.2 to .6) and nowhere else, but not more than in one place at a time. Hence it is a sentence. If it occurs in more than one place, then each splits into a separate sentence, or a sentence word. *ṉeeṟṟaa*? *ciṯamparamaa*?, *municipalaa*?, *ṯeerṯalayyaa*? and so on.

8.2.9 In this sentence *ciṯamparam municipal ṯeerṯalay* is a noun phrase.

8.3 In defining a sentence above, it will be noticed the occurrence of the interrogative morpheme finally in a sentence is not considered. When the interrogative morpheme occurs finally, it cannot occur anywhere else. But this is a distribution common for compounds and phrases Moreover there are sentences where the interrogative morpheme cannot occur with the final word in a sentence.

8.4 The subject of a sentence, when it occurs finally in a sentence, cannot have the interrogative morpheme.

But when it occurs in any other possible position in the sentence, it can have the interrogative morpheme. Below-a sentence is first given with the subject in the final position and then in other possible positions with the interrogative morpheme.

8.4.1 *uṭanee* (1) *kuuppiṭṭu* (2) *vicaariṭṭaan* (3) *aracan* (4). at once (1) having called (2) enquired (3) king (4) "The king at once sent for (him) and enquired"

8.4.2 *aracanaa uṭanee kuuppiṭṭu vicaariṭṭaan?* "Is it the king who sent for (him) and enquired?"

8.4.3 *uṭanee aracanaa kuuppiṭṭu vicaariṭṭaan?*

8.4.4 *uṭanee kuuppiṭṭu aracanaa vicaariṭṭaan?*

3. Cases in Tamil: Primary and Secondary

Starting from the earliest Tamil grammarian Tolkaappiyar, grammarians in Tamil have been repeating that there are eight cases in Tamil. This is just an attempt to reflect the Sanskrit system into Tamil. The failure of this attempt has been discussed by many scholars, beginning from Caldwell, to need any more discussion.

Tolkaappiyar has not cared to define case. The author of *Nannuul*, Pavananti, a well known thirteenth century grammarian, has attempted to define case in Tamil. According to him the suffixes are referred to as case. They occur finally after nouns and change the meaning of the nouns. They are eight in number. There are others however, who would call the composite forms of the nouns, the nouns with the suffixes, as case.

This definition has to be examined in detail. The occurrence at the final position of nouns has to be interpreted as the occurrence only with nouns. The plural suffix *kaḷ* has to be excluded since it is not final in a composite noun form: Case suffixes can occur after the plural suffix. And also *kaḷ* can occur with verbs. So it is not exclusive for nouns. But then, case suffixes are not the closing suffixes for composite nouns, if the expression

'final' in the definition is to be interpreted that way. The interrogative suffix *aa*, the emphatic suffix *ṭaan* etc., can occur after the case suffixes. e.g. *marańkaḷayyaa* "trees?" *marańkaḷayṭṭaanaa*? "trees? (emphatic)", *marańkaḷayṭṭaan* "only trees". Again, these post-case suffixes can occur with verbs, finite or non-finite. e.g. *vaṇṭaanaa*? "Did he come?", *vaṇṭaa*? "coming?" etc., Thus excluding the pre-case and post-case suffixes which also occur with verbs, we are left with a series of suffixes—case suffixes, which are exclusive for nouns, the noun-final suffixes. The definition of cases is thus paradigmatic. Cases are classified strictly on the basis of the suffixes, not on the basis of meaning. The range of meaning for some of the case is so wide that one is sometime justified to have different cases with homophonous suffixes. Also there is so much of overlapping in the semantic range. But the same suffix is not said to belong to the different cases. These suffixes which are paradigmatic for nouns, are the primary case suffixes.

There is another set of forms which I call secomdary case forms. They are traditionally known as post-positions. They are partly free because they occur in other constructions and behave like words. They occur after the primary forms, but their occurrence is not obligatory. But, when the secondary forms occur, the occurrence of specific primary case suffixes is obligatory. In between the primary and the secondary forms, no word can occur.

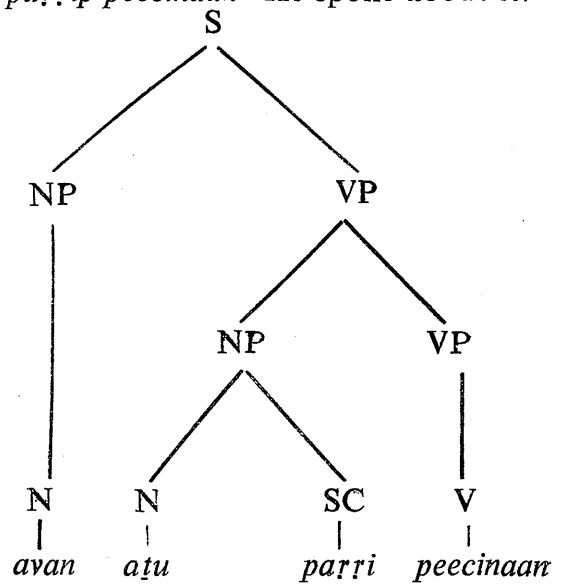
The cases with the primary suffixes and the secondary casal forms are listed below.

	Case	*Primary Suffixes*	*Secondary Form*
1.	Accusative	*ay*	*paṛṛi, ṭavira, viṭa, poola, kuṛiṭṭu, oṭṭi, koṇṭu, vayṭṭu.*

2.	Possessive	*in*	*meelee, kiizee,*
	Dative	*ku*	*munnee, pinnee, uḷḷee, veḷiyee, eṭiree*
3.	Locative	*il*	*iruṇṭu*

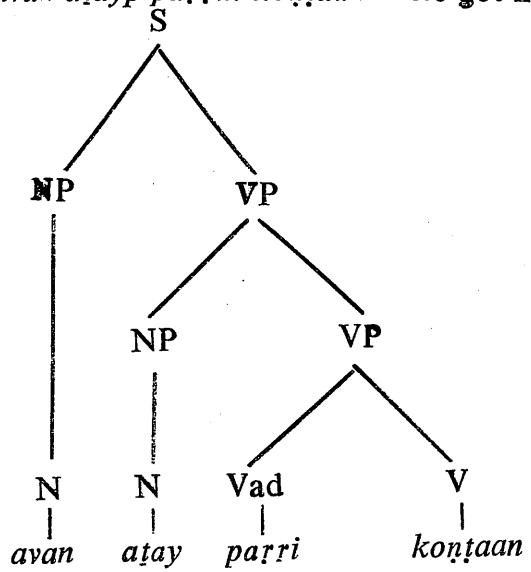
The secondary case forms in the above table are all verb attributes; some of them are the verbal participial forms. Their occurrence as the secondary case forms and as verb attributes has to be distinguished. As the secondary case forms, they are the constituents of NP of VP. and as verb attributes they are the constituents of VP. The following demonstration will make this clear.

1. *avan aṭayp paṛṛip peecinaan* 'He spoke about it.



Here *paṛṛi* is an accusative secondary case form. The casal form of *aṭu* is *aṭay* and is predictable. Hence, it is not represented in the tree diagram and will be obtained in the transformation.

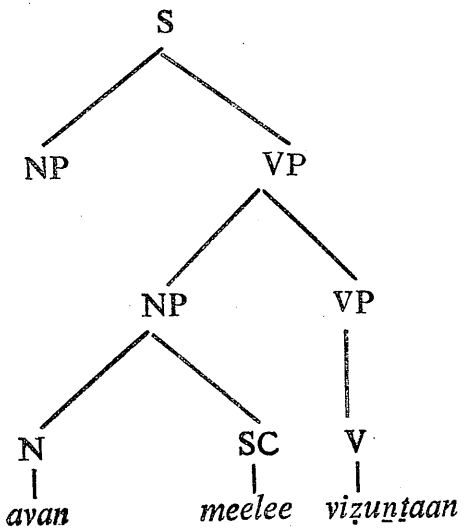
2. *avan aṯayp paṛṛik koṇṭaan* 'He got hold of it'.



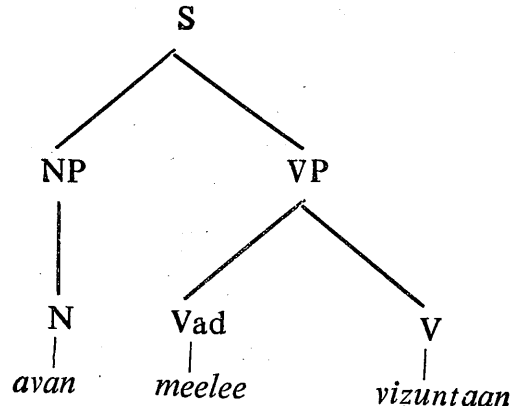
Here *paṛṛi* is a verb attribute and is a constituent of VP. The casal form of *aṯu* is not predictaple. Hence it is *aṯay*. But it can also be *aṯaal*, *aṯaṛku* etc.

3. *avan meelee viẓuṉṯaan.*

This is an ambiguous sentence. where *meelee* can either be a secondary case form or a verb attribute.



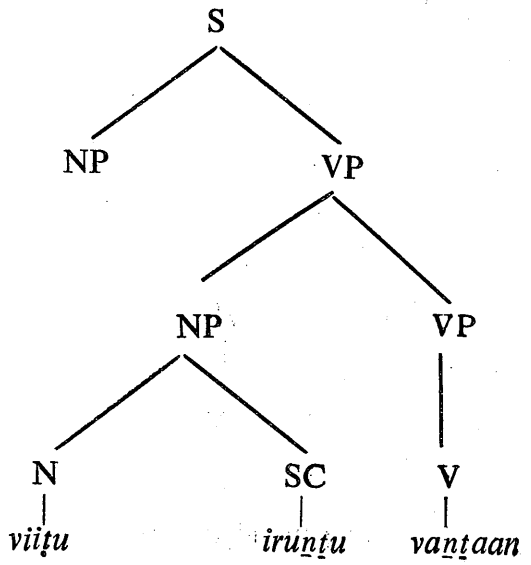
meelee as a verb attribute, the sentence means 'He fell on' something.



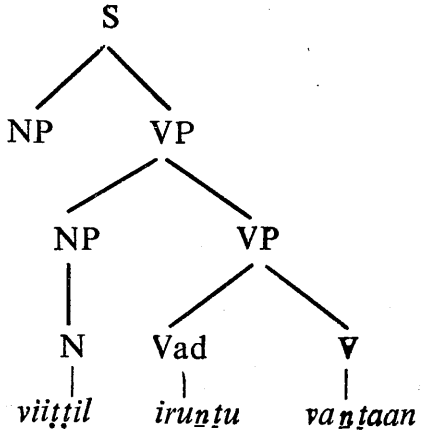
Vad is Verb attribute

4. *viiṭṭil iruṉṯu vaṉṯaan.*

iruṉṯu as a locative secondary, the expression means 'He came from the house'. Here the case form of *viiṭu* (*viiṭṭil*) is predictable.



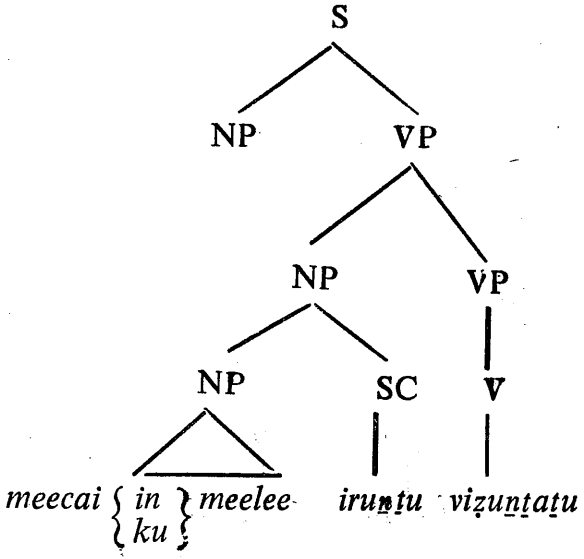
iruṉṯu as a verb attribute the expression means 'He stayed in the house and came.'



Here the case form of *viiṭu* is not predictable.

The locative secondary case forms can also occur after the possessive-dative secondary case forms. This is possible because with the secondary case forms they give the locative meaning.

5. *meecai* {*in*, *ku*} *meelee iruṉṯu viẓuṉṯaṭu* 'It fell down from above the table.'



The above demonstration reveals that atleast a few cases in Tamil, the accusative, possessive-dative and the locative, can be defined structurally on the basis of the secondary case forms. There are a few others where this is not possible, or atleast I have not been able to find any structural definitions so far. They are the sociative, the instrumental, the possessive etc.

The existence of the nominative as a case in Tamil is questionable. There is no suffix for the nominative in Tamil, where as in Sanskrit there is a separate suffix for the nominative, *aḥ*. The nouns in the nominative do not occur in the oblique forms either. *maaṭu kanṟay muṭṭiṟṟu* 'The bull buttered the calf', *aaṟu perukkeṭuṭṭu ooṭiṟṟu* 'The river ran flooded'. The oblique forms of *maaṭu* is *maaṭṭu* and of *aaṟu* is *aaṟṟu*. These forms do not occur in the nominative. Nominative is recognised as a case just for the paradigmatic completeness and perhaps due to Sanskrit influence.

The accusative case presents problems. It has been stated again and again that if the noun is neuter, and does not refer to any specific thing, the accusative case suffix is absent and if the object is a rational being, the suffix is overtly expressed.[1] A close examination reveals that the situation is not as simple as that.

1. Pronouns, whether neuter or non-neuter, while occurring as objects in transitive constructions, always

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1. Arden A. H. *A Progressive Grammar of Tamil Language*. The Christian Literature Society, 1962 —384, 349, pp. 185, 186.

Caldwell, Robert. *A Camparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, University of Madras, 1956—pp. 271.

have the accusative case suffix overtly expressed : e.g. *aṯayp peṟṟaan* 'He obtained it', *avanayk kuuppiṭu* 'Call him'.

2. Nouns as objects in transitive constructions, when they have the demonstrative pronouns or others as noun attributes, have the accusative case suffix overtly expressed : e.g *iṭli caappiṭu* Eat idli, *aṉta iṭliyayc caappiṭu* Eat that idli, *paaṭṭup paaṭu* Sing a song, *aṉtp paaṭṭayp paaṭu* Sing that song, *neeṟṟup paaṭina paaṭṭayp paaṭu* Sing the song you sang yesterday, *aaṟina iṭliyayc caapiṭaaṯee* Don't eat cold idli.

3. A class of verbs in their imperative forms have their objects with the accusative case suffix overtly expressed even when no emphasis or specification is implied: e.g. *maraṯṯayp paar* Look at the tree, *oru jannalay aṭay* Close one of the windows, *eeṯaavaṭoru kaṭavay muuṭu* Close any one of the doors, *passay piṭi* Catch the bus, *aṟayyayp perukku* Clean the room. But some of these verbs in this class, like *paar*, when they occur in other forms, have the accusative case suffix absent with the object : e.g. *maram paarṯṯu vaaṅkineen* I checked and bought the wood. *avaḷukkup puṭavay kaṭṭip paarṯṯaarkaḷ* They dressed her in sari and checked.

4. A class of verbs have their objects with the accusative case suffix absent if they are general statements and the suffix present if the statements refer to specific things or emphasise things: e.g. *iṭli caappiṭu* Eat idli, *iṭliyayc caappiṭu* Eat idli and nothing else. *moor kuṭi* Drink buttermilk, *moorayk kuṭi* Drink buttermilk and nothing else or you have to drink buttermilk only.

5. In the class of verbs in 3 and 4, certain nouns when preceded by numeral attributes, have their accusative case suffix absent: *ruupaa koṭu* Give rupees, *ruupaayykkoṭu* Give the rupees, *en ruupaayayk koṭu* Give my rupees, *neeṟṟu vaaṅkina ruupaayayk koṭu* Give the rupees you got yesterday, *paṭṭu ruupaa koṭu* Give ten rupees, *reṇṭu veeṭṭi kaṭṭu* Tie two dhoties, *naalu kap kaapi uuṟṟu* Pour four cups of coffee, *reṇṭu kiloo carkkaray eṭu* Give two kiloes of sugar.

6. Certain idiomatic expressions have the case suffix absent even if definiteness is involved : *avanukkup peṇ paarṯṯaayviṭṭaṭu* A bride has been found for him, *piḷḷaykku maappiḷḷay paarṯṯaayviṭṭaṭu* A bridegroom has been fixed for the girl. *enakku viiṭu paarṯṯeen* I looked for a house (for rent. *piḷḷay peṟṟaay* She delivered a child, *peṇ peṟṟaaḷ* She delivered a girl. When the case suffix is overt, these expressions mean something different: *naan viiṭu paarṯṯeen* I looked for a house to be rented, *naan viiṭṭayp paarṯṯeen* I looked and checked the house. There are other idiomatic expressions where the case suffix is always explicit. *maṇṭayyayp pooṭṭaan* He is dead, *ciiṭṭayk kiẓiṭṭaan* He dismissed him. *uyiray vaaṅkinaan* He troubled quite a lot.

Thus there are three different situations : (i) The accusative case suffix is always explicit and here differences in meaning are brought in by intonation or by attributes (ii) The accusative case suffix is optional and there is no difference in meaning between its presence and its absence. (iii) The presence of the accusative case suffix means something different from its absence.

The problem here is the definition of the accusative case. The absence of the suffix means something different from its presence in the third situation. The taxanomic school will have to keep them as distinct cases, because each has its own form and meaning. However, if it is defined syntactically as the object of transitive verbs, and this is how the transformationalist would define

it, both the nouns, those which have and those which do not have the case suffix, will form a single case. Also, the accusative case can be defined as the form of nouns occurring before the secondary case forms where the occurrence of nouns with the explicite case suffix is obligatory, and if absent there is no difference in meaning.

4. Caariyay *Varru* in Tolkaappiyam[1]

Tolkaappiyar has mentioned the following caariyays and their distribution.[2]

1. *akku* occurs after the words *uun* flesh, *iim* burning ground, *kam* a profession and *ṭaaẕ* bolt (270, 329, 384).[3]

2. *aṭṭu* occurs after *maka* child, *nilaa* moon light, *pani* mist, *maẕay* rain, *viṇ* sky, *veyil* sun light, *iruḷ* darkness, *aẕan* corpse, *puẕan* (meaning is not clear) and after words denoting the names of stars and numbers having *m* finally (125, 228, 241, 287, 305, 377, 402, 193, 331, 317).

1. *Tolkaappiyam* is the earliest descriptive grammar for Tamil now available. It is usually assigned to the early centuries of the pre-Christian era. caariyay corresponds to the conception of empty morph in modern linguistics.

2. I am indebted to Miss R. Seetha Bai, M.A., M. Litt., for the collection of this data from *Tolkaappiyam* who under the guidance of Prof. T. P. Meenakshi Sundaram prepared her thesis for M. Litt, on a study of the lexical items in *Tolkaappiyam* and also a lexicon for *Tolkaappiyam*.

3. The numbers refer to the number of the sutram according to *Tolkaappiyam* (text) published by SISSWPS —1954.

3. *am* occurs after words like *puḷi* tamarind, *eru* manure, *ceru* war, *panay* palmyra, *aray* a tree, *aaviray* a kind of plant, *piir* a kind of plant, *aal* banyan tree, *puul* a kind of tree, *veel* a kind of tree, *kumiẓ* a kind of tree, after dissyllabic words (*iireẓuṯṯumoẓi*), after words which end in a short *u* preceded by a stop, after names of trees having a short *u* finally and between proper names of father and son (244, 260, 283, 365, 375, 386, 415, 417, 350).

4. *an* occurs after the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns and after the word *peṇṭu* female (176 200, 421).

5. *aan* occurs after words ending in *m*, *i*, and *ay*, denoting the names of the stars (331, 247, 286).

6. *ikku* occurs after words ending in *i* which are the names of months (248).

7. *in* occurs after words like *pani* mist, *maka* child *aaṭuuu* male, *makaṭuuu* female, *cee* an animal, *vaṇṭu* bee, *peṇṭu* female, *ṯev* enemy, *urum* thunder, *aẓan* corpse, *puẓan* (meaning not clear), *panay* palmyra, *kaa* a plant, *paṯṯu* ten, *onpaṯu* nine and generally after words ending in *a*, *aa*, *u*, *uu*, *ee*, *aw* (241, 218, 271, 279, 420, 184, 186, 193, 169, 433, 470, 476, 173).

8. *um* occurs after *ellaavaṟṟay* all neuter, *ellaartamay* them, *elliirnummay* you (pl. accusative) (89. 191).

9. *ee* occurs between two words of measurements or weights of which the second one denotes something less than the first and between two words denoting directions (164, 431).

10. *oon* occurs after words ending in *oo* (180).

11. *keẓu* occurs generally after words ending in *ẓ* and *n* (481).

12. *vaṟṟu* occurs after *pala* many, *cila* few, *yaa*

which, *avay* they-remote, *ivay* they-proximate, *uvay* they-medial and *ellaam* all (174, 175, 183, 189).

Of these *akku*, *am*, *aan*, *ikku* and *un* do not occur in the text of Tolkaappiyam though Tolkaappiyar has mentioned them in his description of the language.

Curiously enough Tolkaappiyar has not given any definition for caariyay. The caariyays perhaps correspond to the traditional sandhi particles, or Caldwell's inflectional increaments, or modern empty morphs[4]—the simultaneous structural parts of two morphemes[5]

Some of the caariyays listed by Tolkaappiyar are not just meaningless sandhi particles. One such caariyay is *vaṟṟu*. According to the author of Nannuul this caariyay is *aṟṟu* and not *vaṟṟu* which seems more probable.

In the text of Tolkaappiyam (*v*)*aṟṟu* occurs after 1. the demonstrative stems *a*-, *i*-, (3, 24, 26, 49, etc.) 2. after *pala* as in *palavaṟṟiṟuṯi*, at the end of the word *pala* or at the end of the *a* ending words denoting many, *palavaṟṟuppaṭarkkay* third person neuter plural, *palavaṟṟumaruṅkin* with the neuter plural (210, 213, 220, 224, 701, 709). 3. after the word *piṟa* others—neuter (1037). 4. after the plural participial nouns ending in *a* as in *kiḷaṇṭavaṟṟiyalaan*, *moẓiṇṭavaṟṟiyalaan* those which have been said (602, 781, 879, 1348).

The forms with the caariyay (*v*)*aṟṟu* are listed below with their corresponding singular forms wherever possible

PLURAL	SINGULAR
yaavaṟṟay which	**yaaṯ-ay*

4. HOCKETT: *Problems of morphemic analysis*, *Lang.* 23, 1947.

5. Paul L. KIRK: *A note on morphemic fusion and empty morphs*, SID. 14, 1959.

PLURAL		SINGULAR
avaṟṟ-ay	them-remote	*aṯ-ay*
ivaṟṟ-ay	them-proximate	*iṯ-ay*
uvaṟṟ-ay	them-medial	*uṯ-ay*
palavaṟṟ-ay	many	
palavaṟṟumaruṅkin	with the neuter pl.	
palavaṟṟuppaṭarkkay	third person neuter pl.	
ellaavaṟṟ-ayyum	all	

A comparison of the forms in the two columns shows that the segment *aṟṟu* occurs only in the plural forms. Hence the proper interpretation for this recurrent partial would be that it is a neuter plural suffix and occurs only before case suffixes. In the forms *palavaṟṟiṟuṯi* etc. the case suffix is zero, what the grammarians would call *veeṟṟumayṯṯokay*.

The words *pala, cila, ellaa, piṟa* indicate the neuter plural and they do not have corresponding singular forms. The addition of the neuter plural suffix *aṟṟu* to these forms is a formation similar to the formation of *avarkaḷ, ivarkaḷ*, etc. where the plural suffix *kaḷ* is added to the plural forms *avar, ivar* etc.

Comparing the forms *avan, ivan, avaḷ, uvan, uvaḷ, avaṟṟay, ivaṟṟay, palavaṟṟay, cilavaṟṟay*, etc., with forms *aṯu, iṯu, uṯu*, etc., a better solution would be that the demonstratives have allomorphs *a-, i-, u-* before consona nts and *av-, iv-*, and *uv-* before vowels. So also *palav-, cilav-*, are the allomorphs of *pala, cila*, etc. before vowels. In these examples the final vowel is *a*. *yaa* has finally *aa*. The allomorphic differences in the stems may be reduced to an internal sandhi rules *a+a>ava*,

and *aa+a>aava*, following the usual way of framing sandhi rules.

Thus *aṟṟu* is analysed here as a neuter plural morph occurring before case suffixes.

5. Reconstruction of *aaṅkanam* in Early Tamil Texts

1. In Tolkaappiyam, the earliest Tamil grammar now available, the word *aaṅkanam* "like that" occurs in three places, in stanzas 1308, 1469 and 1498.[1] The editors of Tolkaappiyam have given different readings for this. R. Raghava Iyengar[2] and the Kaẓakam give the reading *aaṅṅanam*. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai[3] and Ganesaiyar give the reading *aaṅkanam*. V. O. Chidambaram Pillai[5] i

1. References to Tolkaappiyam are according to the stanza numbers in Tolkaappiyam—Text published by S. I. S. S. W. Publishing Society, Madras, 1954.

Tolkaappiyam is the earliest grammatical treatise now available. It belongs to the early centuries of the pre-Christian era. The author of this work is known as Tolkaappiyar.

2. R. Raghava Iyengar (Ed.) *Tolkaappiyam, Ceyyuḷiyal, Naccinaarkkiniyaar commentary*, Tamil Caṅkam, Madurai 1917.

3. S. Vaiyyaapuri Pillai(Ed.)*Tolkaappiyam, Poruḷaṭikaaram*, 1934.

4. S. Ganesaiyar(Ed.)*Tolkaappiyam, Poruḷaṭikaaram* 1943.

5. V. O. Chidambaram Pillai and S. Vaiyapuri Pillai

gives the reading *aaṅkanam* for 1308, *aaṅkena* for 1469 and *aaṅkavaṇ* for 1498. S. Rajam[6] gives the same reading as those given by V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, but in the appendix where he has listed different readings, he gives *aaṅṅanam* for the first two and *aaṅkanam* for the last. In the Caṅkam Classics[7] also the words *aaṅkanam*, 'like that', *iiṅkanam* "like this", *yaaṅkanam* "how" occur- In the latter half of the thirties and the forties there. was a controversy between two veteran Tamil scholars V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar[8] and N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar[9] as to whether the readings in all these places should be *aaṅkanam, iiṅkanam* and *yaaṅkanam* with *-ṅk-* cluster or should be *aaṅṅanam, iiṅṅanam* and *yaaṅṅanam* with the geminate *-ṅṅ-*. Reddiar suggests the forms should be reconstructed with *-ṅk-* cluster where as Nattar suggests the forms should be reconstructed with *-ṅṅ-*

(Eds.) *Poruḷaṭikaaram*, Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras, 1935.

6. S. Rajam (Ed.) *Tolkaappiyam* (*Text*) Madras 1960.

7. *Paṭṭuppaaṭṭu* and *Eṭṭuṭṭokay* are the Caṅgam Classics. They are anthologies of stanzas, most of them lyrics about love and war. Some belong to the Pre Christian era and others to the early centuries of the Christian era.

8. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar, *Kapilar* (pages 6, 118)- Madras University, 1936. *Ceppamuṭayyaarkkuc ceyyum viṇṇappam*, Tamiẓppoẓil Vol. 13 (1938-39), Vol. 17 (1941-42), *Dravidic Pronouns*, Madras University, 1939.

9. N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar, *Ceppamuṭaymay* Tamiẓppoẓil, Vol. 13 (1937-38), Vol. 14 (1938-39), Karantai, Tanjore.

geminate. Tolkaappiyar in his description of Tamil, does not admit *ṅ-* initially in words. So Reddiar suggests that these three words should be split as *aaṅku+anam*, *iiṅku+anam* and *yaaṅku+anam* just as *ṉankanam* is split as *ṉanku+anam*. Pavananti,[10] the author of Nannuul, admits *ṅ-* initially in words and suggests the forms *aṅṅanam*, *iṅṅanam*, *eṅṅanam* and *yaaṅṅanam* as illustrations. Their arguments are based mainly on these. It is not the intention of this paper to examine their arguments. We here bring in some new evidence in support of the forms with *-ṅk-* cluster in the early Tamil texts and incidentally explain the history of these forms.

2. In describing Tamil, Tolkaappiyar listed the non-identical consonantal clusters and the geminates. Tolkaappiyar states that all but *r* and *ẓ* occur as geminates medially. But there is one important distributional limitation which has been missed through out. While the stop geminates *kk cc ṭṭ tt pp ṛṛ* occur after long and short vowels, all the other geminates *ññ ṇṇ nn ṉṉ mm vv ll ḷḷ* occur only after short vowels. This is true of Old Tamil and of the modern Written Tamil. Examples can be cited from the text of Tolkaappiyam itself. *-kk-ṉiikku* leave off (1037), *aṭakkam* obedience (1206), *-cc- ṉiccam* always (1045), *accam* fear (562), *-ṭṭ-ooṭṭal* act of driving, defeat (1003), *aṭṭa* having killed (1009), *-tt- paṭṭu* ten (434), *eeṭṭal* act of praising (1153), *-pp- akappaṭum* included in (1394), *kaappu* guarding (866), *-rr- avarrin* their (1559), *aarral* duty (1075), *-ññ- ayññuuṛu* five hundred (1358), *-ṇṇ- vaṇṇam* a kind of rhyme (1468), *aṇṇam* palate (83, 89), *-nn- ṭunnutal*

10. *Nannuul* is a grammar written by Pavananti in the thirteenth century. The relevant sutram is No. 106

embracing, touching (1025), *anna* like that (2, 119), *-ṉṉ- muṉṉiir* ocean (980), *-mm- cummai* noise (832), *-vv- ṭevvu* enemy (829), *-yy- eyyaamay* not knowing (825), *-ll- ollaar* enemy (1022), *-ḷḷ- uḷḷa* in existence (653). These examples from the text of Tolkaappiyam, illustrate that the nasal geminates occur only after short vowels and not after long vowels. If we accept the reading *aaṅṅanam*, this will be the only exception to this general pattern of distribution of the nasals. The cluster *-ṅk-* occurs both after short and long vowels and as such the forms *aaṅkanam*, *iiṅkanam* and *yaaṅkanam* fit into the regular pattern of distribution. Hence the suggestion that these should be the correct readings in the early Tamil Texts.

3. *aaṅk anam*, etc. should be split into *aaṅku+anam iiṅku+anam*, and *yaaṅku+anam* as Reddiar has suggested. *anam* is a morph indicating quality. Thus *aaṅkanam*, etc., are adverbs of quality derived from demonstrative and interrrogative adverbs of place *aaṅku*, *iiṅku* and *yaaṅku*. Moreover the forms *aaṅku* there, *iiṅku* here, and *yaaṅku* where occur as free forms in Tolkaappiyam and in Caṅkam Classics. As against this, the forms with short vowels *aṅku*, etc., occur very rarely in the early texts. There is only one occurrence of *aṅku* in Tolkaappiyam. Pavananti in his Nannuul provides for the short forms *aṅṅanam*, *iṅṅanam*, *eṅṅanam* and the long form *yaaṅṅanam*. He does not provide for the long forms *aaṅṅanam* and *iiṅṅanam*. Tolkaappiyar and Pavananti give only the short vowels *a*, *i* and *u* as demonstratives and not the long ones.[11] So the question arises whether these demonstratives are the bases for the long forms *aaṅku* and *iiṅku* as it is traditionally believed to be. In Tolkaappiyam and in the early Tamil texts the morphs

11. *Tolkaappiyam* sutram 31.

aan and *iin* occur referring to place. Hence a suggestive derivation of these adverbs of place would be *aan+ku>aaṅku*, and *iin+ku>iiṅku*.[12] Interrogative *yaa* is mentiond by Tolkaappiyar and Pavananti.

4. Proto Tamil-Malayalam *-*ṅk*- becomes -*ṅṅ*- in Malayalam even after long vowels. e. g. **maaṅkaay>maaṅṅaa*(Ma.)mango, **ṯeeṅkaay>ṯeeṅṅaa*(Ma.)cocoanut, **ṯuuṅku>ṯuuṅṅu*(Ma.)sleep,**veeṅkay>veeṅṅaa*(Ma.)tiger, **vaaṅku>vaaṅṅu*(Ma.)buy, etc. Perhaps such a development took place in Tamil too and hence we find the forms *aaṅṅanam*, *iiṅṅanam* and *yaaṅṅanam* in some of the palmyra leaves which the editors printed as such. Or perhaps these forms were borrowed into Tamil from Malayalam where this development took place. Whatever might have been the reason for the presence of these long forms in Tamil, the long forms with the geminate -*ṅṅ*- are irregular when used in Tamil. To regularise this, the forms *aṅṅanam*, *iṅṅanam* and *eṅṅanam* came into use in medieval Tamil. It is these forms which Pavananti refers to in his work. Still *yaaṅṅanam*, the interrogative which Pavananti refers to, is irregular. But the interrogative form *eṅṅanam* fitting into the regular pattern came into greater use slowly displacing *yaaṅṅanam*. In Irayyanaar Kaḷaviyal commentary, a prose work of about the 10th century A. D., there are twenty-eight occurrences of *aṅṅanam* and four occurrences of *aaṅṅanam* of which two are quotations from the text. There are twenty-eight occurrences of *iṅṅaṇam* and no occurrence

12. This was suggested by E. Annamalai and P. Arunachalam, my colleagues in the department, when this paper was presented before the Research Council of the Linguistics Department, Annamalai University.

of *iiṅṅanam*, *eṅṅanam* occurs seventeen times whereas *yaaṅṅanam* occurs only seven times.[13]

13. This data was collected by Miss Kamachi Srinivasan. She was a Research Scholar in my department working on the language of this text.

6. Vowel Splits in Tamil Dialects

1 This paper deals with the historical developments in the vowel systems in two different Tamil dialects, Tamilnad Colloquial Tamil(TNCT)and Ceylon Colloquial Tamil (CCT). Colloquial Tamil in both cases refers to the Tamil spoken by the educated non-Brahmin communities in ordinary informal conversations.

2 Given below are the inventories of the vowel phonemes in different dialects of Tamil.

Proto-Dravidian (PD)

Old Tamil (OT)

Modern Literary Tamil (MLT)

Short			*Long*		
i		*u*	*ii*		*uu*
e		*o*	*ee*		*oo*
	a			*aa*	

TNCT

Oral Vowels

Short			*Long*		
i	*ɨ*	*u*	*ii*	*ɨɨ*	*uu*
e		*o*	*ee*		*oo*
ɛ	–		*ɛɛ*	—	
	a			*aa*	

Nasal Vowels

Short			*Long*		
	ĩ			*ɨ̃ɨ̃*	
ɛ̃		*õ*	*ɛ̃ɛ̃*		*õõ*
				ãã	

CCT

Short			*Long*		
i	*ɨ*	*u*	*ii*		*uu*
e	*ə*	*o*	*ee*	*əə*	*oo*
ɛ	–				
	a			*a*	

3 For Proto-Dravidian Prof. M. B. Emeneau's reconstructed phonological system is taken.[1] The vowel system in Old Tamil has been established as a result of

1 Burrow T. and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, p.11, Oxford University Press, 1961

Emeneau M. B. *Dravidian Phonology* (in stencil)

Krishnamoorthi Bh. *Alternation i/e and u/o in South Dravidian*, Language. Vol 34, No. 4, 1958

the text analyses done for a number of early Tamil texts in different universities.[2] Modern Literary Tamil (MLT) is the Tamil spoken in a very formal style as when lecturing within class rooms, often on platforms and so on. This resembles very much reading out a written text. TNCT is the Tamil spoken by the educated middle class non-Brahmin communities of Tamilnad with a bias towards the one spoken in the districts of Tanjore and South Arcot. The analysis was done by the author himself. The data for CCT is from Mr. S. Suseendra Raja, Annamalai University. He comes from *Iḷavaalai* of *Maavaṭṭapuram*, Jaffna District. He has completed an analysis for this dialect and has also prepared a grammar. Thus independent analyses have been done for eaeh dialect and the phonemes established. Then the dialects are compared for a diachronic study.

In comparing OT or MLT with TNCT or CCT, it is found that in many words syllables are lost as in *varukiṛeen* in MLT corresponding to *varrrɛ̃ɛ̃*–I am coming, in TNCT and so on. Such words where syllables are lost are no taken for comparision here. Only words which have the same number of syllables in OT, MLT, TNCT and CCT are compared and the historical developments described taking OT and MLT as the bases.

In describing the vowel splits number 0.1, the first sub-division indicates the splits in TNCT and 0.2 the second sub-division indicates the splits in CCT. Further developments within each dialect are indicated by numbers following .1. or .2. Developments common for both the dialects are given under numbers with no sub-division.

2 Many early Tamil texts have been analyzed in Annamalai University, Madras University and Kerala University.

4 The earliest of the vowel splits that took place in the language should have been the ones referred to in Tolkaapiyam.[3] Excepting in short disyllabic words, final /u/ after a stop was pronounced as a shorter *u* *kuṛṛiyalukaram*. Perhaps the final *u* was pronounced as [*i*] as it is now pronounced. Whatever may be its actual phonetic value, it was not a separate phoneme. The minimal pairs that the commentator Naccinaarkkiniyar gives[4] in his commentary where/*u*/and /*i*/ contrast, were perhaps contrasts which developed by his time. This suggests that what was an allophone at the time of Tolkaappiyar, has developed into a phoneme by the time of the commentators.

After this all final /*u*/, irrespective of the conditions mentioned by Tolkaappiyar might have been pronouncep as [*i*]. Pavaṇaṉṯi[5] also gives almost the same conditions as given by Tolkaappiyar for *kuṛṛiyalukaram*. But I think he is prescriptive rather than descriptive. It is probable that the change of final /*u*/ into [*i*] should have been complete by the time of Pavaṇaṉṯi. This change should have taken place before the separation of TNCT and CCT.

The split may be demonstrated as follows.

/*u*/—|————→ [*u*] non-final
|————→ [*i*] final

3 *Tolkaappiyam — Moẓimarapu*, sutram 2. The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, (SISSWPS) Madras, 1954.

4 *Tolkaappiyam*, SISSW Publishing Society, Madras, 1954. *Moẓimarapu*, sutram 35 commentary.

5 Pavaṇaṉṯi is the author of *Nannuul*, a grammar written in the thirteenth century.

e. g. *eṭu* > *eḍi* "take"; *kuuru* > *kuuri* "sharpness"; *kuṇṭu* > *kuṇḍi* "pit".

This change introduced a contrast between /*i*/ and /*i*/ in the final position. e. g. *paari* "see" ÷ *paari* "name of a king" ÷ *colli* ÷ "say" ÷ *colli* "having said".

5. *u* in the non-initial syllable becomes *i*.

/u/ → [*u*] initially
/u/ → [*i*] non-initially

e. g. *anuppu* > *anupi* > *anipi* "send"; *anuppi* > *anipi* "having sent".

Still [*i*] is an allophone of /*u*/ occurring in the non-initial syllables.

So far TNCT and CCT had identical developments and these developments should have taken place before the separation of two dialects.

6. 1 In TNCT /*i*/ becomes /*i*/ and /*ii*/ becomes /*ii*/ when followed by /*u*/ in the following syllable unless /*i*/ and /*ii*/ occur in the second syllable.

e. g. *ṭiruppu* > *ṭirupi* > *ṭiripi* > *ṭiripi* "a turn"

This introduced a contrast between /*u*/ and /*i*/ in TNCT. e. g. *ṭurumbi* "a small particle" ÷ *ṭirimbi* "turn". /*i*/ contrasted with /*i*/ because of the split in 4 and now it is in contrast with /*u*/ and thus separating itself as a phoneme. There is also a difference in the distribution of the phonemes. /*u*/ occurs now only in the initial syllable. In all other positions /*i*/ occurs where previously there was /*u*/. /*i*/ and /*ii*/ occur only when they are not followed by /*i*/ in the next syllable.

This split also introduced a contrast between /*ii*/ and /*uu*/. e. g. *cuuṭi* "crown" ÷ *ciiṭi* "card"; *ṭuuṇi* "pillar" ÷ *viiṇi* "waste". But [*ii*] is still in complementary distribution with [*ii*] where [*ii*] occurs when /*i* follows in the next syllable and [*ii*] elsewhere.

The split may be demonstrated as follows.

/*u*/ → /*u*/ in the initial syllable
/*u*/ → /*i*/ elsewhere
/*u*/ → ↑ /before /*u*/ in non-second s yllable
/*i*/ → /*i*/ elsewhere
/*ii*/ → [*ii*] when followed by /*i*/
/*ii*/ → [*i*] elsewhere

6.2.1 In CCT *i* and *ii* in the initial open syllable and in monosyllables before a retroflex and r become *i* and *ii* respectively.

e. g. *kiḷi* > *kiḷi* "parrot"; *iiṇ* > *iiṇ* "to bear, to bring forth"

6.2.2 *i, i, u* and *ii, ii,* and *uu* contrast in the following pairs. e. g. *ṭikki* "direction" ÷ *ṭikki* "difficulty" ÷ *ṭukkε* "Goddess Durga". ÷ *cikkε* "a stage in maturity" ÷ *ciikkε* "whistle" ÷ *cuukkε* "deceiving".

In CCT *i* and *ii* are in complementary distribution with *i* and *ii* but for the few contrasting pairs like the ones given above. They contrast only in a very few items because *i* and *ii* in the above items have become *i* and *ii* respectively before /*k*/ even in closed syllables. This is perhaps a new development that is taking place in the language tending towards a change where *i* and *ii* in the initial syllable become *i* and *ii* respectively irrespective of the conditions.

7. 1 /*i*/ and /*u*/ in the root syllables before /*a*/ in the next syllable become /*ε*/ and /*o*/ respectively in TNCT when the two syllables are not separated by consonantal clusters. When separated by consonantal clusters, /*i*/ under similar conditions become /*i*/ and /*u*/ remains unchanged.

e. g. *vilay* > *vεlay* > *vεlε* "cost": *ṭiṇṇay* > *ṭiṇṇε* "raised platform in front of a house."

/u/ → /o/ in the initial syllable when followed by /a/ in the next syllable
/u/ → /u/ elsewhere

/i/ → /ε/ in the initial syllable when followed by /a/ in the next syllable
/i/ → /i/ elsewhere

7. 2 In CCT there is not even a single instance where /i/ becomes /ε/ under conditions described in 7. 1. There are three items where there is *u/o* alternation under similar conditions. e. g. *muraṭan/moraṭan* "rough, unsophisticated fellow": *kuraṭṭay/koraṭṭay* "snoring": *puṭṭakam/poṭṭakam* "book". There is one item where *uu/oo* alternate under similar conditions. e. g. *muuṭan/mooṭan* "fool". These might have been borrowings from TNCT. Still *mooṭan* is not found in any dialect of TNCT I know.

The merger of *i/e* and *u/o* is a problem in the Dravidian languages. Among the South Dravidian languages, Written Tamil, Malayalam and CCT form a single group where *i* and *u* are found in similar environments whereas Kannada, Telugu and TNCT form another group where, in similar environments vowels, ε (*e*) and *o* are found. Mr. Bh. Krishnamurthi[6] has suggested that the Proto-South Dravidian (PSDr.) vowels were **e* and **o* and that *i, u* in Tamil are secondary developments after the separation of Telugu and Kannada from PSDr. This development *i]a* > ε and *u]a* > *o* in TNCT should have been either simultaneous with Telugu and Kannada or should have been a later development. Tamil inscriptions which

6. Krishnamurthi Bh., *Alternation i/e and u/o in South Dravidian*, Language Vol. 34, No. 4, 1958

use colloquial expressions abundantly, of the respective ages, do not show these alternations. Inscriptions of the nineth century show certain words where *e]a* > i and *o]a* > u. e. g. *celavu* > *cilavu* "travel", *peyar* > *piyar* "name"; *koṇar* > *kuṇar* "bring"; *ṭoṭaṅku* > *ṭuṭaṅku* "start". From the eleventh century on, the inscriptions show *i/e* and *u/o* alternations in a few items. *puṭṭakam* > *poṭṭakam* "book"; *kulay* > *kolay* "a bunch of fruits etc." *kuṇṭaḷa* > *koṇṭaḷa* name of a counrry; *ulooka* > *olooka* "of the world"; *kumara* > *komara* "of young"; *punal* > *ponal* "water": *piṛa* > *peṛa* "the other"; *iṭayyan* > *eṭayyan* "the shepherd". This may suggest that these developments in TNCT might have started by about the eleventh century.

8. 1 In TNCT *ee* > εε in the initial syllable when the following syllable has /a/ or /u/.

e. g. *veelay* > *vεεlay* > *vεεlε* "work"; *eeṭu* > *ε εḍi* "palmyra leaf"

/ee/ → /εε/ before /a/ or /u/ in the next syllable
/ee/ → /ee/ elsewhere

This split is allophonic. But with borrowings like *eesi* "Jesus" a contrast has been introduced with εε as in pairs like *εεsi* "scold" ÷ *eesi* "Jesus."

8. 2 In CCT *e* > *ə* and *ee* > *əə* before retroflexes and before *p, k, v, m,* and *ṛ* in open syllables.

e. g. *eṭu* > *əṭi* "take"; *eṇṇam* > *əṇṇam* "thought"; *eri* > *əri* "burn"; *eeṭu* > *əəṭu* "palmyra leaf"; *eeṇi* > *əəṇi* "ladder"; *peeṇ* > *pəəṇ* "stand of a picottah"; *eeval* > *əəval* "instigation"

ee and *əə* contrast in a few items. e. g. *eeppε* "you will deceive" ÷ *əəppε* "wooden spoon".

9. 1 In TNCT final *-a* ▷ *-ɛ*.

e. g. *vara* ▷ *varɛ* "to come"; *pooka* ▷ *poogɛ* "to go"

This development should have happened after 7.1.1 and 8. 1 because the splits in 7. 1, 1 and 8. 1 are conditioned by the following /*a*/ and not by /*ɛ*/. In 8. 1 if /*ɛ*/ is taken as the conditioning factor one has to take /*ɛ*/ and /*o*/, neglecting the common phoneme /*a*/ in both cases.

9. 2 In CCT *a* ▷ *ɛ* before *c*, *y* and the alveolar consonants and *aa* ▷ *ɛɛ* before *t*, *k*, *ñc*, *y* and *r*.

e. g. *paccay* ▷ *pɛccɛ* "green"; *kari* ▷ *kɛri* "coal"; *pani* ▷ *pɛni* "fog"; *palli* ▷ *pɛlli* "teeth"; *aayiram* ▷ *ɛɛyitam* "one thousand"; *kaañcu* ▷ *kɛɛñci* "having dried"; *maarpu* ▷ *mɛɛrpi* "chest".

The development of /*a*/ in 9 in TNCT and in CCT seems to have taken place independent of each other since the environments are different.

In CCT *ɛ*, *a* and *ə* contrast in a few examples like *kɛkkim* "it will be bitter" ÷ *kakkim* "it will eject" ÷ *vəkkim* "it will be disappointed".

10. 1 In TNCT final *- ay* ▷ *-ɛ*. Final *-aay* ▷ *-aa* in monosyllabic words and *ɛɛ* in polysyllabic words.

e. g. *vilay* ▷ *vɛlɛ* "cost"; *paay* ▷ *paa* "mat"; *vaṉṯaay* *vaṉḏɛɛ* "you came."

10. 2. In CCT final *-ay* ▷ *-ɛ*. in polysyllabic words and medially before *k*. Final *- aay* ▷ *-ɛɛ*.

e. g. *kaykkum* ▷ *kɛkkim* "it will be bitter"; *ṯalay* ▷ *ṯalɛ* "head"; *paay* ▷ *pɛɛ* "mat."

Combining the splits in 9 and 10 one may trace the splits as follows. First *-ay* ▷ *-a* and then final *-a* ▷ *-ɛ*, which is also possible.

Here again the splits in the two dialects should have taken place independent of each other, though the splits are almost identical except that final *-aay* becomes *-aa* in monosyllables in TNCT. If this split happened before the separation of TNCT and CCT then change 7.1 where *i* ▷ *ɛ* and *u* ▷ *o* should have happened before that and hence should have been a common development.

11. 1 Final-VN ▷ a nasal vowel in TNCT.

-am ▷ *-õ*	e. g.	*kuṭam* ▷ *koḍam* ▷ *koḍõ*	"pot"
-an ▷ *-õ*	e. g.	*kaṭan* ▷ *kaḍõ*	"loan"
-oom ▷ *-õõ*	e. g.	*vaṉṯoom* ▷ *vaṉḏõõ*	"welcome"
-an ▷ *-ɛ̃*	e. g.	*avan* ▷ *avɛ̃*	"he"
-aan ▷ *-ãã*	e. g,	*naan* ▷ *nãã*	'I'
-een ▷ *-ɛ̃ɛ̃*	e. g.	*vaṉṯeen* ▷ *vaṉḏɛ̃ɛ̃*	"I came"
-um ▷ *-ĩ*	e. g.	*varum* ▷ *varĩ*	"it will come"

This change did not take place in CCT. This should have happened after 7.1 and 8.1 for the same reasons given in 9.1. This is perhaps the last of the vowel developments that took place in TNCT.

7. A Tamil Dialect in Ceylon

1. 1 Nearly one fourth the population in Ceylon speaks *T*amil. *T*he data presented here are from the speech of Mr. Parvathinatha Sivam of *Maavaṭṭapuram*, Jaffna District, who is at present a student at Annamalai University. *T*his is his Colloquial *T*amil, the *T*amil he would ordinarily use in speaking to his relatives and friends. *T*he dialect differences within Ceylon are considerable, as my informant tells me. And greater still are the differences when compared with any *T*amil dialect within Madras State.

1. 2 The present study is a comparative study of this Ceylon Colloquial Tamil (CCT) of my informant with my Literary Tamil (LT) and my Colloquial Tamil (CT)[1]. *T*he differences in segmental phonemes, supra-segmental features and some of the striking features on the morphological and on the lexical level are dealt with here. *T*he differences discussed here are striking and fundamental.

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1 Literary *T*amil here referred to is the *T*amil I ordinarily use when I teach in a class, or when I address an audience. *T*his agrees to a very large extent with the written *T*amil and is the more formal variety. Colloquial *T*amil is the one I ordinarily use talking to my children or wife and is the more informal variety. *T*he state-

2. 1 Segmental Phonemes

2. 2 Consonants

LT and CT

p	*ṯ*	*t*	*ṭ*	*c*	*k*
b	*ḏ*		*ḍ*	*ǰ*	*g*
f		*s*			
m	*ṉ*	*n*	*ṇ*	*ñ*	*ṅ*
		l	*ḷ*		
			ẓ		
		r			
v				*y*	

CCT

p	*ṯ*	*t*	*ṭ*	*c*	*k*
b	*ḏ*		*ḍ*	*ǰ*	*g*
		s			
m		*n*	*ṇ*	*ñ*	*ṅ*
		l	*ḷ*		
		r			
	v			*y*	

2. 3 A comparison of the stops and the nasals in the three systems present interesting problems. In LT and CT the intervocalic spirants and the flap [*β δ ṛ* ɣ∽*x*] are analysed as allophones of /*p ṯ ṭ k*/ respectively. The voiced stops [*b ḏ ḍ ǰ g*] occurring after nasals are analysed as allophones of the corresponding voiced stops.

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ments about my Literary and Colloquial Tamils are based upon my own analysis which have not yet been published.

The initial voiced stops are analysed as allophones of the corresponding voiced stops. The voiced stop phonemes form a low frequency class by themselves, occurring in borrowed items.[2]

2. 4 In CCT the only two words in which I noticed voiced stops initially are *jannal*[3] "window," and *ḍoolaki* "an ear ornament", both non-native items. Of these *ḍoolaki* occurs only in the speech of the educated. In the speech of the uneducated in its place the word *ṭoṅguṭaan* or *ṭuukaṇavan* is found. The word *jannal* has a more frequent variant *yannal*. The following initial voiced stops in LT and CT are found as voiceless stops in CCT in spite of the fact they are borrowed words with initial voiced stops.

WT	LT	CT	CCT	
palam[4]	*balam*	*belõ*	*pelam*[5]	strength
canaṅkaḷ ~*janaṅkaḷ*	*janaṅkaḷ*	*janaṅgo*	*canaṅkaḷ*	people
kaṇapaṭi	*gaṇapaṭi*	*gaṇapaṭi*	*kaṇabaḏi*	a personal name
kaaṇṭi	*gaaṇṭi*	*gaaṇṭi*	*kaaṇṭi*	Ghandi
kuṇṭu	*guṇṭu*	*guṇṭi*	*kuṇḍi*	bomb

2 For details about this analysis refer *Frequency and Phonemics* by Gordon H. FAIRBANKS, Indian Linguistics, Vol. 17. For LT & CT the phonemic spelling given here is based upon this analysis.

3 The italics are the phonemic writing.

4 Forms given in this column represent the written form.

5 The phonemic spelling of CCT is based upon my analysis.

2. 5 Thus the very rare occurrence of initial voiced stops[6] in CCT may support the analysis presented in frequency and phonemics when we present an overall analysis taking into consideration LT, CT and CCT. But the stops after the nasals are not always voiced. *kompu* "horn", *kuḷampu* "sauce" or "hoof", *ṭampi* "younger brother", *nenpu* "steps in a well sweep" have voiceless dental stops after the nasals. In *veembu* "margosa tree", *cambal* "a side dish in the meal", *irumbu* "iron" the bilabial stops after the nasals are voiced.

2. 6 *aṇṭæ* "that", remote demonstrative, *iṇṭæ* 'this, proximate demonstrative, *uṇṭæ* "between that and this' medial demonstrative, have voiceless dental stops after nasals. But *vaṇḏi* "having come", *uḷuṇḏi* "black gram" have voiced stops after nasals.

2. 7 *entæ* "my", *untæ* "your", *ṭantæ*—the reflexive pronominal genitive, have voiceless alveolar stops after nasals. There is no occurrence of voiced alveolar stops anywhere.

2. 8 *neñci* "chest" *pinæñci* "to knead, mix", *pañci* "cotton" have voiceless palatal affricates after the nasals, while *kañji* "liquid food", *peñjil* "pencil", *iñjæ* "here" have voiced palatal affricates after nasals.

2. 9 The retroflex stops after the nasals are always voiced.

2. 10 *kiḷaṅki* "edible root", *alævaaṅki* "bench", *caṅkili* "chain", *aṅke* "there", *iṅke* "here", *uṅke* the

6 This very rare occurrence of initial voiced stops even in borrowed items may be true of the speech of the uneducated within Madras State too, for I had occasion to hear *peepi* for baby during my field work with the villagers.

medial demonstrative, have voiceless velar stops after nasals, while *teeṅgaa* "cocoanut", *eṅgaḍæ* "our" have voiced stops after the nasals.

2. 11 Thus we find that the voiced and voiceless stops, excepting the alveolar and the retroflex, contrast after the nasals. The list frequency of the voiced and the voiceless stops after the nasals depends upon the informant. With my informant Mr. Sivam the voiced stops after nasals have a higher list frequency. But when I began to check these with another informant Mr. K. Kantaiya of *Iḷavaalay*, about three miles away from *Maavaṭṭapuram*, I found in his speech the voiceless stops after the nasals having a higher list frequency. There are also cases of free variation. Repeated checkings of the above examples have shown a few among them as free variants.

2. 12 The important point here is that in CCT the voiced stops after the nasals cannot be assigned to the voiceless stops as allophones as it is done in the case of LT and CT. Nor is it useful to set up two classes of stops on the basis of the frequency, the more frequent voiceless stops and the less frequent voiced stops.[7]

2. 13 Perhaps this is a transition period in the history of this Ceylon Tamil. The occurrence of the voiceless stops after the nasals reflects the early history of the

7 Dr. Fairbanks suggested that in this dialect also the initial voiced stops may be analysed as allophoues of the voiced stops, the initial voiceless stops as allophones voiceless stops, the voiced stops after the nasals, and the spirants and flap occurring after /l/ and /r/ and between the vowels as allophones of voiceless stops and the voiceless stops after nasals and after /l/ and /r/ and between vowels as geminates of the voiceless stops. This analysis introduces three consonant clusters, otherwise very rare.

language, and the voiced stops reflect the developments that have taken place since then.[8] And as for the future, either one of the two courses are possible—either the voiceless stops after the nasals will become voiced stops and fall in line with LT and CT, which is possible considering the increasing educational contact with Tamil Nadu or the voiced stops may become voiceless, which is also possible considering the recent trend to preserve consciously the individuality of Ceylon Tamil. The third possibility would be the continuation of the present structure.

2.14 One of the bases for the location of the isoglosses between the different Tamil dialects would be perhaps the frequency of the voiced stops. The frequency seems to be at its maximum in the Madras Tamil. It slowly decreases as we move towards the south to Ceylon through Kanyaakumari. The Tirunelveeli and Kanyaakumari Tamil and the Ceylon Tamil seem to have the lowest frequency of voiced stops. The greater frequency of the voiced stops in Madras Tamil is due to the influence of Telugu.

2.15 In LT and CT, the voiced spirants and the retroflex flap occurring intervocally and after /l/ and /r/ are analysed as allophones of the corresponding voiceless stops and the intervocal voiceless stops as geminates, because of the three way contrast between the bilabial voiceless stop, bilabial voiced stop and the bilabial voiced spirant after /l/ and /r/. Exx. *al[p]õ* "meanness", *bal[b]i* "bulb" *iyal[β]i* "manner, custom". Though this three way contrast is not to be found for all the stops, the same pattern of analysis is maintained for the other stops.

8 Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI and Prof. T. P. MEENAKSHI SUNDARAN also write that the stops after the nasals were voiceless in the beginning.

This analysis fits in with the pattern and the frequency in LT and CT. But in CCT *bal[b]i* is found as *bal[p]u* and there is now only a two way contrast after /*l*/ and /*r*/ in CCT. So the spirants can be analysed as allophones of the voiced stops in which case the voiceless stops need not be analysed as geminates.

Thus the pattern and the frequency found in LT and CT are broken in CCT. The occurrence of both the voiced and the voiceless stops after the nasals has broken the frequency pattern found in LT and CT. But CCT has i own pattern but different from LT and CT. The voiced stops occur very rarely in the initial position. Intervocally both the voiced and the voiceless stops occur as they do after the nasals. There is no geminate of the voiceless stops intervocally and after /*l*/ and /*r*/.

2.16 In LT and in CT the phoneme /*t*/ the alveolar voiceless stop, though it contrasts with the dental in the intervocal position in native words, occurs initially only in borrowed words like *tii* "tea". In the speech of the uneducated it is *ṭii* so that in his speech there is no initial occurrence of the phoneme /*t*/. But in CCT /*t*/ occurs initially in native items also. Exx. *teṇḍi* "two", *tɛsam* "soup" or "pepper water". Of these *tɛsam* is a non-native i tem.

2.17 In LT and CT the voiced alveolar stop, sometimes with a very short *r* coloured release [*dr*] occurring after the nasals is an allophone of the voiceless alveolar stop. In CCT there is no occurrence of this voiced alveolar stop. In its place either a long alveolar trill /*rr*/ or a retoflex voiced stop is found.

	LT	CT	CCT	
manṛam	*mantam*	*mantõ*	*manrram*	"hall, assembly"

nanṛu	*nantu*	*nanti*	*nanrru*	"good"
ninṛaan	*nintaan*	*niṇṇãã*	*niṇḍaan*	"he stood"
cenṛaan	*centaan*	*centãã*	*seṇḍaan*	"he went"

2.18 In LT and CT all the nasals occur initially when referring to the letters in the Tamil alphabet. Of these /*m n ñ*/ occur initially even otherwise and /*n̲ ṇ n*/ occur initially only when referring to the letters. /*n̲*/ the dental is a phoneme only because of this occurrence; elsewhere it is always followed by a dental stop. But in CCT none of the nasals occurs initially when referring to the letters and *n̲* occurs always before a dental stop. It is here analysed as an allophone of /*n*/. The forms used in the three systems to refer to the letters in the Tamil alphabetic system are given below.

LT	CT	CCT	
makaram	*maanaa*	*ummanna*	"the letter m"
n̲akaram	*n̲aanaa*	*in̲d̲anna*	"the letter *n̲*"
nakaram	*naanaa*	*innanna*	"the letter *n*"
ñakaram	*ñaanaa*	*iññanna*	"the letter *ñ*"
ṇakaram	*ṇaanaa*	*iṇṇanna*	"the letter *ṇ*"
ṅakaram	*ṅaana*	*iṅṅanna*	"the letter *ṅ*"

/*ṅṅ*/ occurs intervocally in LT, CT and CCT. But the utterance in LT and CT is different from CCT. LT and CT has *aṅṅaṇõ* "a portion in the kitchen, or in the house where the dirty vessels are cleaned." CCT has *iṅṅanna* the letter *ṅ*. Perhaps these are the only words where /*ṅṅ*/ occurs intervocally and there is no contrast with the short one. But still it is analysed as geminate on the basis of the length in comparison with the other short and long nasals which occur intervocally.

2.19 The phoneme /f/ is found in LT and CT in words like *kaafi* "coffee", *film* "cinema", *soofaa* "sofa" —all borrowed. In CCT *kaafi* is found as *koopi*. The word film is not found in CCT. In its place *sinima* and *paḍam* are found. *Soofaa* is found as *soo*[β]*aa* with an intervocalic bilabial voiced fricative, which is an allophone of the voiced stop.

2.20 The phoneme /ẓ/ is found in LT and CT but not in CCT. In CCT in its place the retroflex /ḷ/ is found

3.1 VOWELS

			LT				
i	*e*	*ɛ*	*a*	*o*	*u*		Short
ii	*ee*		*aa*	*oo*	*uu*		Long
			CT				
i	*e*	*ɛ*	*a*	*o*	*u*	*ɨ*	Short oral
ii	*ee*		*aa*	*oo*	*uu*		Long oral
		ɛ̃	*ã*			*ɨ̃*	Short nasal
		ɛ̃ɛ̃	*ãã*	*õõ*		*ɨ̃ɨ̃*	Long nasal
			CCT				
i	*e*	*ɛ*	*a*	*o*	*u*	*ɨ* *ə*	Short
ii	*ee*		*aa*	*oo*	*uu*		Long

3.2 The complete absence of the nasal vowels both in LT and CCT brings them closer. The final -VN in LT corresponds to final -V with nasal in CT. But this correspondence is not found in CCT and here it resembles LT. The correspondences are given below with the illustrations.

LT		*CT*		*CCT*	
avan	*-an*	*avɛ̃*	*-ɛ̃*	*avan*	"he"
vanteen	*-een*	*vandɛ̃ɛ̃*	*-ɛ̃ɛ̃*	*vandeen*	"I came"

veeṇḍaam	*-aam*	*veeṇḍãã*	*-ãã*	*veeṇḍaam*	"not necessary"
vantaan	*-aan*	*vandãã*	*-ãã*	*vandaan*	"he came"
kuṭam	*-am*	*koṭõ*	*-õ*	*kuḍam*	"a big vessel"
vantoom	*-oom*	*vandõõ*	*-õõ*	*vandoom*	"we came"
varum	*-um*	*varɨ̃*	*-ɨ̃*	*vandam* *varum*	"it will come"

3.3 There is no nasal vowel even as allophones either in LT or in CCT.

34 In LT the front lower-mid [ɛ] occurs as an allophone of /e/ in word final position and when followed or preceded by the phoneme /e/ in the next syllable. There is no contrast between front higher-mid and front lower-mid in native items. The lower-mid /ɛ/ is set up as a separate phoneme and a class by itself because of its occurrence in words *bɛṅkɨ* "bank", *bɛtɨ* "bat". In CCT *bɛṅkɨ* is found as *vaaṅki* and *bɛtɨ* is referred to as *saaṭɛ*. The word *bɛtɨ* is very rarely found even in the speech of the educated. In CCT the front mean-mid and the lower-mid, contrast in native items, Exx. *n*[*E*]*ñcɨ* "chest", and *pin*[ɛ]*ñcɨ* "to knead, mix" and [ɛ] occurs in the first syllables as in *t*[ɛ]*sam* "soup, pepper water". It has a front higher-low allophone [æ] finally in monosyllables with an onset consonant, that is in open monosyllables : [kæ] "nut", [væ] "mouth", [pæ] "mat". Thus the phoneme /ɛ/ is an integral part of the structure in CCT but not in LT.

3.5 In LT the lower-high central [*I*] is found as allophone of /*u*/ occurring in word final position and also when preceded or followed by /*u*/ in the next syllable. But they contrast in CT and in CCT. CT has *tiripi* turning. *turipi* "army, troops, trump card", *viripi* "desire", *viripi* "bed spread". CCT has *nigam* "nail", *nugam* "yoke", *naaḍi* "chin", *naaḍi* "country".

3.6 Thus we find that allophones in LT [ɛ] and [I] have become phonemes in CT and CCT.

4.1 Supra-segmental features.

These features have not been completely analysed. Every word has a primary stress in the initial syllable in T. This is in contrast with several of the dialects in Tamil Nadu where including LT and CT all the syllables in a word are evenly stressed. In CCT the word boundary is clearly marked by the stress in the first syllable of the word. Hence this stress is an allophone of the word juncture which is usually represented by a space in writing.

5.1 On the morphological level, no systematic comparison of the allomorphs and the morphemes in the three different dialects is attempted. Some of the very striking and glaring individualities alone are presented here.

5.2 In LT and in CT there are only two demonstratives, the remote *a-* and proximate *i-*. But in CCT there are three demonstratives *a-* the remote, *i-* the proximate and *u-* the medial which refers to something in between the two. The farthest one is referred to as *aḏi*, the nearest one as *iḏi* and the one in between the two as *uḏi*. Compare also *aṅgɛ* "there", *iṅgɛ* "here", "*uṅgɛ*" in between". In some dialects in Ceylon *u-* is used as a remote demonstrative in the place of *a-*.

5.3 This medial demonstrative is a very common feature in ancient Tamil and it occurs quite often in the Sangam Classics. Given below are a few references gleaned from:

uṭukkaaṇ

Kuṟuṉṭokay 81, 191, 358. *Puṟaṉaanuuṟu* 210, 307 *Aṅkuṟunuuṟu* 101.

uṭu

Kuṟuṉṭokay 170

uvakkaaṇ

Kuṟuṉṭokay 367, 242 *Naṟṟiṇay* 237, *Aṅkuṟu-ṉuuṟu* 206, 207. *Akaṉaanuuṟu* 4. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 1185.

umpar

Kuṟuṉṭokay 11, 138. *Akaṉaanuuṟu* 213

5.4 Another peculiarity is in the kinship terms *ayya* or *apu* "father", *ammaa* or *aaci* "mother" *aṇṇan* "elder brother", *akaa* "elder sister" *ammaan* "maternal uncle", *aṭaan* "brother-in-law"— these utterances are used when one refers to his own relatives. But words like *koyyaa* or *kopu* "father", *kommaa* or *kooci* "mother" *koṇṇan* "elder brother", *kokaa* "elder sister", *kommaan* "maternal uncle", *koṭaan* "brother-in-law" are used when one refers to the relatives of those in the second person. Kinship terms which do not have an initial *a-* or *aa-*Exx. *maaman* "father-in-law", *macaan* "brother-in-law", *paaṭṭi* "grand mother", *ṭaaṭa* "grand father" etc. do not have these corresponding forms. So there is the possibility of segmenting out *a-* ∽ *aa-* as a reference to the non-second kinship and *ko-* ∽ *koo-* as a reference to second person kinship.

5.5 This peculiarity is found to a very limited extent only in two dialects in Tamil Nadu The *Naaṭaar* and the *Kriṣṇavakaykkaaṟar* community near Neyyuur, Kanyaakumari district, have the forms *kopan* "father" *kommaan* "maternal uncle", and sometimes *koṇṇan* "elder brother" when they refer to these relatives in the first or in the third person.[9] In the district of Ramnad

9. I received this information from Mr. P. Arunachalam, Lecturer in Tamil, Annamalai University. He comes from this part of the Tamil Country.

the forms *ṅopan*, "your father", *ṅommaa* "your mother" *ṅokaa* "your sister", *ṅoṇṇan* "your brother" and the forms *apan* "father", *ammaa* "mother", *akka* "sister" *aṇṇan* "brother" are found[10]. Here we have the morphs *ṅo-* in the place of *ko-* in the other two dialects. These morphs are prefixes, a rare phenomenon in the Dravidian languages. In the Sangam Classics there is a type of prefix in some of the kinship terms though not so regular. Exx. *ṭaay* "his, her or its mother", *yaay* "my mother", *ñaay* "your mother" and *aay* "mother".

6.1 On the lexical level, with the limited data I collected, I find this dialect agrees much with the Southern Tamil — especially the Nañjinad Tamil, the Tamil spoken in the Kanyaakumari district. This is something to be expected because of the proximity of this portion of the Tamil country with Ceylon. I am giving below a list of utterances common for both but very rarely found in any other Tamil dialect. There are a few utterances common for both of these and for the Ramnad Tamil. The migration of the Tamils from the southernmost part of Tamil Nadu to Ceylon is established by historical evidence. The Chettiar community from the Ramnad district which had extensive business contact with Ceylon, might have been responsible for importing some of these forms into Ramnad district.

1. *apu*[11] *appu*[11] "father"
2. *irikirraṭu* *irukkiṭaṭu* "sitting" (also in Ramnad)

10. I received this information from Mr. E. Annamalai, Lecturer in Linguistics, Annamalai University. He comes from Aruppukkottai of Ramnad District.

11. The first column gives the phonemic spelling, the second column the written spelling.

3. *kiḍigi* *kiṭuku* "braided cocoanut leaf for thatching"
4. *koḷɛci* *kuḷayṭṭu* "having mixed"
5. *kuḷay* *kuḷay* "leaves" (also in Ramnad)
6. *kaḍagam* *kaṭakam* "large tray made of palmyrah leaves." This has another form *kaḍavam*
7. *cirɛṭɛ* *ciraṭṭay* "cocoanut shell"
8. *cuḷagi* *cuḷaku* "a kind of winnowing fan"
9. *ciini* *ciini* "white sugar" (also in Ramnad)
10. *cakarɛ* *cakkaray* "black or unrefined cane sugar" (also in Ramnad)
11. *paṭɛ* *paṭṭay* "a bucket like vessel made of palmyrah leaves to draw water from the well"
12. *parrañcaan* *paraynṭaan* "he said, conversed"

8. Fishermen Tamil of Kanyakumari[1]

1. Introduction
2. Phonology
3. Nouns and Pronouns
4. Verbs
5. Summary of innovations
6. Sociolinguistic background

F is Fishermen
H is Harijan
V is Vellala
N is Nadar
W is Written (Tamil)

1.0. The Fishermen dialect of Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) is unique not only in its richness of the technical terms connected with their profession[2] (many of which have not yet found a place in the existing Tamil lexicons) but also in its phonological and morphological structure. In this paper the phonological and morpho-

1 A pilot survey of Tamil dialects in Kanyakumari district was carried on by the author under a grant from the University Grants Commission, under the individual Research Scheme by University and College Teachers. This is the first of a few papers to be published as a result of this investigation. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the University Grants Commission.

2 There are about four hundred fish names. They have been identified with the help of Francis Day' Fishes of India, William Dawson and Sons Ltd., London, 1958.

ogical peculiarities as distinct from written Tamil and the author's own speech are alone listed and discussed.[3] Some of these peculiarities are shared by the Fishermen with other castes like Harijans and Nadars of Kanyaakumari district lower in the hierarchy of the caste structure and they are marked KHN–read Kanyaakumari Harijan and Nadar; others are shared with the Vellalas (Pillais)and they are marked KVHN-read Kanyaakumar Vellala, Harijan and Nadar. If they are not shared with any other caste, they are left unmarked or marked KF-read Kanyaakumari Fishermen.[4]

1.1 This paper tries to establish the peculiarities of KF and its commonness with other dialects from the same district. It points out the transition that is taking place in the dialect. Many of the peculiarities listed here are being replaced by other forms in the speech of the educated young and middle aged people, herein referred to as the rising generation. In conclusion techniques for establishing sociolinguistic innovations in dialects are also discussed.

3. M. Shanmugam Pillai, *Spoken Tamil*, Annamalai University, 1965, gives the author's spoken forms.

4. The Fisherman informant is Mr V. Papa Fernando, He is about forty-five and had some secondary school education. He speaks his dialect while speaking to his relatives about his profession, etc., and to others he switches to another form of speech. The Nadar informant is E.V. Moni Professor of Tamil, Hindu College, Nagercoil. He gave his conversational Tamil and not the formal class-room variety. The Harijan informant is Mrs. Manonmani from Meenambakam. The data for the Vellala dialect was collected from the author's family members.

1.2 The data presented here were elicited mostly by asking my informants to speak about their profession. Only under such circumstances the peculiarities of their speech come out freely; otherwise they switch to forms borrowed from other dialects which they consider elegant. This is true of most of the Tamil dialect speakers.

2.0 The following phonological differences are noted. Since the items for each of these phonologica correspondences are limited, in some cases only one, it is not possible to give any generalised statement for many, except in a few cases. In the following classes the forms found in the fishermen dialect are given first, followed by forms in written Tamil (WT) and then the gloss. = indicates the correspondence.

2.1 *i* = *uu*: *reṇḍiyeeri* (KHN), *iraṇṭupeer* two people; *iri* (KVHN), *iru* be seated.

2.2. *ii* nasalized = *ii* finally : *mii*, (*ii* is nasalized) *miin* fish. In no other dialect does final *in* or *iin* become nasalized. *i* or *ii* in WT generally corresponds to CVVC*i* in spoken. This is true of this dialect also except in this word.

2.3 *u* = *i* (KVHN): *uḍi*, *viṭu* leave (verb)

2.4 *u* = *o* (KVHN) : *kuḍi*, *koṭu* give

2.5 *e* = *oo* : *selli*, *collu* say

2.6 *p* = *v* intervocally : *mɛrɛpɛ*, *miṯavay* float (noun)

2.7 *ṯ* = *n̲* initially : *ṯɛɛrõ*, *n̲eerõ* time

2.8 *ṯ*, *ḏ* = *r* intervocally : *saṯi*, *sari* right; *sariḏõ sariiram* body

2.9 *yɛɛ* = *icay* : *yɛɛci*, *icayṯṯu* having joined

2.10 *k* = *pp* : *oḷɛkiki*, *uẓayppukku* for the work

2.11 *s* = *ṯ* (KVHN) : *ṯurisõ*, *ṯuriṯam* speed

2.12 *v* = *p* (KVHN) : intervocally: *naaliveeriki naankupeerukku* for four people; *irivaḏi*, *irupaṯu* twenty *ruuvaaki*, *ruuvaaykku* for rupees.

2.13 *r* = *ṯ* : *irinḏiriyɛ*, *irunṯaṯu* it was; *ambari*, *aympaṯu* fifty; *aapṭri*, *akappaṭṭaṯu* it was caught; *allari*, *allaṯu* or; *pɛɛsaarɛ*, *peecaaṯee* don't talk; *poraṅgiḷamɛ*, *puṯankiẓamay* Wednesday; *poovri*, *pookiṛaṯu* it goes; *ṯeriyaaraakĩ ṯeriyaaṯaakkum* is it not known; *ṯaṅgaari*, *ṯaṅkaaṯu* it will not stay; *sammarikɛ*, *cammaṯikka* to agree; *sinḏaarɛ*, *cinṯaaṯee* don't spill; *kɛḍɛyaaraa*, *kiṯayyaaṯaa* will it not be available; *kuupḍaarɛ*, *kuuppiṯaaṯee* don't invite; *vɛrɛ*, *viṯay* seed; *varraari*, *varaaṯu* it will not come; *mɛrɛvɛ*, *miṯavay* float; *yeeṇḍari*, *iyanṛaṯu* as much as possible; *irinḏiriyɛ*, *irunṯaṯu* it was; *raaviri*, *uraavukiṛaṯu* it rubs against; *puri caṯi*, *puṯu caṭṭi* new pot.

2.14 *r* = *ṛ* : *paari*, *paaṛay* rock

2.15 *r* = *ṛṛ* : *poorivɛ*, *pooyiṛṛu* it went

2.16 *y* = *ic* : *yɛɛci*, *icayṯṯu* having joined

2.17 *y* = *p* (KHN) intervocally: *reṇḍiyeeri*, *raṇṭupeer* two people

2.18 *y* = *ṯ* intervocally : *iṅgiyãã*, *iṅkeeṯaan* only here

2.19 *y* = *c* initially : *yeyyaṯiyɛ*. *ceyyaṭṭum* let do

2.20 *y* = *k* intervocally : *payanṯi*, *pakaṛṇṯu* dividing

2.21 *0* = *v* (KVHN) : *uḍi*, *viṯu* leave (verb)

2.22 *0* = *ni-* (KVHN) : *laa*, *nilaa* moon, moon light

2.23 *0* = *l* finally : *kaḍɛ*, *kaṯal* sea, ocean

2.24 The predominant phonological change in this dialect seems to be palatalization. Note 2.1, 2.5, 2.9, 2.17, 2.18, 2.20, 4.1.

2.25 After the nasal, the homorganic palatal affricate is always voiceless. In word initial position, *c* is

retained voiceless in most of the words and becomes *s* in a few cases: *avvañcaa* in fives, *pañci* cotton, *paañcidi* it dashed.

3.1 The following kinship terms have three forms; those in the second and in the third columns refer to kin of the second person as *your father, your elder sister* etc. This is a feature found in KHN also.[5]

appa (KVHN)	father	*kopaa* (KHN)	*nopẽ* (KF)
akaa (KVHN)	elder sister	*kokaa* (KHN)	*nokaa* (KF)
aṇṇẽ (KVHN)	elder brother	*koṇṇẽ* (KHN)	*noṇṇẽ* (KF)
aṭãã (KVHN)	brother-in-law	*koṭãã* (KHN)	.....
ammãã (KVHN)	mother's brother	*kommãã* (KHN)	.....
ṭambi (KVHN)	younger brother	.....	*nombi* (KF)

The second and the third forms might have resulted from *oṅgε apaa* your father and *on apaa* your father, respectively.

3.2 In the following kinship terms, forms in the first column are used by the older generation in the rising generation they are now being replaced by the forms in the second column.

ṭopaci (KN)	father	*apaci* (KF)
ṭoṅgaci (KN)	little sister	*ṭaṅgaci* (KVHN)
ṭombi (KN)	little brother	*ṭambi* (KVHN)

5 M. Shanmugam Pillai, *A Tamil Dialect in Ceylon*, Indian Linguistics 23 (1962 and pp 60 to 73 in this volume). Also refer to the foot notes to that paper. In the dialects noted so far, kinship terms beginniug with a-have either *k*-or *ṅ* or *n*-in different dialects when referring to the kin of the second person. But this is the only dialect

In 3.1 and in 3.2 the forms in columns 2 and 3 are disowned even by the older generation when asked for them. They are very shy in accepting these forms. The rising generation doesn't have these forms.

3.3 Pronoun.

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*nãã* (KVNN)	*naamiyε* (KF)
		naaṅgε (KVHN)
2nd Person	*nii* (KVHN)	*niimε* (KF)
		niimiyε (KF)
		niiṅgε (KVHN)
Honorific	*niiri* (KVHN)	
3rd Person mas.	*avẽ* (KVHN)	*avẽ yellãã* (KVHN)
		avaṅivε (KHN)
		avaṅivε yellãã (KF)
		avaṅigε (KV)
3rd Person fem.	*ava* (KVHN)	*ava yellãã* (KVHN)
		avaḷivε (KHN)
		avaḷivε yellãã (KF)
		avaḷigε (KV)
Mas. Honorific	*avari* (KVHN)	
Neuter	*aḍi* (KVHN)	*aḍi* (KF)

In the third person the remote demonstrative pronouns begin with *a*- and the proximate with *i*-.

The first personal plural *naamiyε*, the second person plurals *niimε* and *niimiyε* are found with the older generation and are being replaced by *naaṅgε* and *niiṅgε*

where *ṭampi*, a term beginning with *ṭ*- has *nompi* in similar contexts. Perhaps *nompi* is to be related to *ampi* a term found among the Brahmins and not to *ṭampi*.

by the rising generation and they are the forms found in KVHN. *naamiyε*, *niimε* and *niimiyε* are not found in any other dialect. *naamiyε* is from *naam* and *niimiyε* is from *niim*. *iyε* in *naamiyε* and *niimiyε* is an enumerating suffix.[6] *naamiyε* and *niimiyε* are being progressively replaced by *naaṅgε* and *niiṅgε* by the rising generation, and they are the forms found in KV. *niim* is found as the second personal plural in Old Kannada and in Old Malayalam. This form, which is probably the proto-Dravidian form, is attested by *Ciivakacintamani*, a jain epic to the 10th century A. D.[7]

In the third person plural, *avẽ yellãã* and *ava yeḷḷãã* are more common than *avanivε* and *avaḷive*. *avanivε* and *avaḷivε* are also found in *KHN* and are being replaced by *avanigε* and *avaḷigε* by the rising generation.

3. 4 *kε* is a locative suffix (*KHN*). *kaḍεkε* in the shop, *uḷḷaaḍikε* at the bottom of (the boat), *ṭaaṭikε* in depth, *taṇṇikε* in water, *marõ karipikε varidiyε* the boat comes into Karupu, *marõ karεyε sevvalikε varidiyε* the boat comes in Sevvalu, *ṭaṇṇikε viṭrraarε maraṭε, ṭuukĩ vayyε* he is leaving the boat in the water; lift it and place it. This is perhaps the locative *ku* used in ancient classics. *maṇaṛku iinṛa muḷay* the sprout in the sand.[8]

6. *-iyε* is an enumeration suffix and occurs with words when elicited individually, e. g. *reṇḍiyε* two, *paṭiyε* ten, *raṭamiyε* blood.

7. Stanza 1932. *Ciivakacintamani* (ed) Pulavar Aracu and P. V. Somasundaranar, SSIWPS, 1968. In its commentory *Naccinaarkkivigar* derives *niim* from *num*. He also suggests that it is a regional dialect.

8. Pavananti, *Nannuul*, sutram 317, commentary by Sivagnanaswamigal.

Locative suffix *lε* is also quite common and *kε* is being steadily replaced by *lε* (*KVHN*). In my data I didn't have a contrast between the locative *kε* and the dative suffix, both occurring in the same word.

3. 5 Referring to the rocks under the sea, the suffix *nε* is used as in *laaṭnε paari*, *kooyilnε paari*, *veeḷikalnε paari*, *paranḏaavaḍanε paari*. (*paari* rock; *laaṭi*, *kooyili veeḷikalli* and *paranḏaavaḍa* are different places opposite to which the rocks are situated under the sea). *nε* is probably the possessive suffix found in expressions like *ponnin vilai* cost of gold in WT. In spoken Tamil this suffix is lost. Such expressions in spoken Tamil have either no case suffix or have the dative case suffix *ki* as *pon vεlε* or *ponniki vεlε*.

4.1 The stem formative suffix *k* is palatalized to *c* after *i* (KHN). *kuḷicε* to bathe, *yericε* to burn, *kuḍicε* to drink. Though this is consistently used by the older generation, the rising generation is replacing it with *k* (KV). The past tense suffix is also *c* in these verbs. But in the present-future tense conjugation, the formative suffix is *k* and not *c* and thus the contrast between the past and the present-future is maintained.

e. g. *kuḷikεmlε* I am bathing.

4.2.1 Finite verbs have the following personal suffixes.[9]

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*εm* / *ε̃* (KVHN)	*εm* / *ε̃* (KF)
2nd Person	*ε* (KVHN)	*εεr* / *εεri* (KF)

9. Note that there is no distinction of number in the personal suffixes. Plural is expressed in the subject as *avẽ yellãã vanḏaamiyε*(he - all - came)-they (mas)came.

by the rising generation and they are the forms found in KVHN. *naamiyε*, *niimε* and *niimiyε* are not found in any other dialect. *naamiyε* is from *naam* and *niimiyε* is from *niim*. *iyε* in *naamiyε* and *niimiyε* is an enumerating suffix.[6] *naamiyε* and *niimiyε* are being progressively replaced by *naaṅgε* and *niiṅgε* by the rising generation, and they are the forms found in KV. *niim* is found as the second personal plural in Old Kannada and in Old Malayalam. This form, which is probably the proto-Dravidian form, is attested by *Ciivakacintamani*, a jain epic to the 10th century A. D.[7]

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	Singular	Plural
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2nd Person	*ε* (KVHN)	*εεr* / *εεri* (KF)

9. Note that there is no distinction of number in the personal suffixes. Plural is expressed in the subject as *avẽ yellãã vaṇḍaamiyε*(he - all - came)-they (mas)came.

Honorific	*εεr/εεri* (KVHN)	
3rd Person Mas.	*aam / ãã* (KF)	*aam / ãã* (KV)
Fem.	*aa* (KVHN)	*aa* (KF)
Hon.	*aar/aari* (KVHN)	*aar / aari* (KF)
Neut.	*iḏi, i* (KVHN)	*iḏi, i* (KVHN)

4.2.2 Allomorphs *ε̃, εεri, ãã* and *aari* occur finally and before *v*

4.2.3 Personal suffixes do not distinguish number. There is distinction of gender only. In other dialects this is true only in the neuter. *εεr / εεri* is really the second person honorific suffix occurring in cross-reference with *niiri* you. First and third person singulars have *εm* and *aam* respectively. OD has *εεn* and *aan*.

4.2.4 The neuter suffix in the present-future is *i* in some verbs and is added on to the infinitive forms of the verbs (see 4.1). e. g. *kuḷicilε* it is bathing, *irikilε* it is, *kεεkilε* it is hearing, *seyyilε* it is doing, *pooṭrikilε* it is wearing, *vacirikilε* it is keeping. Most of these verbal stems—the imperative singular forms—end in *i*. But there are also other verbal stems like *kεεḷi* ask for, hear which do not end in *i*. This is a feature found in KH also. KV has *i* if the stems end in *i*, otherwise it has *i*, e. g. *kuḷiki* it is bathing, *iriki* it is. KN has *ivi*, e. g. *kεεkivi* it is asking for, *irikivi* it is. The rising generation in all these dialects, is replacing these vowels by *iḏi* as *kuḷikiḏi, irikiḏi*.[10]

4.3.1 In the dialects of Kanyakumari[11] (KD—read Kanyakumari Dialects) the present-future suffix is zero

10. *iḏi* is probably from OD, i. e. from dialects outside Kanyakumari district.

11. This feature refers to a majority of dialects in Kanyakumari district.

except in verbs *vaa* come, *ṭaa* give, *poo* go. Dialects of other districts(OD—read Other Dialects)have *-rr-* as the present-future suffix, e. g. KV *paakãã*, OD *paakrrãã* he is seeing. KV *paaḍiãã* or *paaḍigãã*, OD *paaḍrrãã* he is singing. KF has the present-future suffixes *ḏ* occurring with verbal stems ending in *ḍi* having *v* as the future suffix and *-rr-* with some verbs and zero in many verbs, e. g. *paaḍiḏaamlε* he is singing, *pooḍi* put, prepare (as coffee), *caaḍi* jump, *ooḍi* run, *aaḍi* dance, *viḍi* leave are some more verbs in this class. But it is zero with verb *paḍi* lie down, though it ends in *ḍi*. This verb has *-p-* in the future. Perhaps this is an indication of the transition where suffix *ḏ* is being replaced. *ṭ* is found as a present-future tense marker in old Tamil, *añcuṭum yaam* we fear, *ṭuñcuṭiyoo* are you sleeping.[12] KF *iriḷaṅgeṭi varri* it is becoming dark (to rain), *aambḍrriyε* it is being caught, is available, *apḍi ooḍrriyε* it runs thus, have *-rr-* as the present-future suffix. But these forms with *rr* are being displaced. They are now almost technical terms used in connection with their profession.

4.3.2 KF as other KD's has *-rr-* as the present-future suffix in three verbs *vaa* come, *ṭaa* give and *poo* go.[13]

12. Zvelebil, Kamil, *Spoken Language of Tamilnad*, Archiv Orientalni 32 (1964). The expressions *añcuṭum yaam* (125.4) and *ṭuñcuṭiyoo* (154.7) are from *Naṟriṇai*.

13. In the paradigm, page 89, the first column gives the pronouns, the second finite verbs in masculine non-honorific, the third finite verbs in masculine honorific, the fourth finite verbs in feminine non-honorific and the fifth finite verbs in feminine honorific. For each pronoun the three forms in the three rows are the past, present-future and the future finite forms.

e. g. *vaarrɛmlɛ* I am coming, *ṭaarrɛmlɛ* I am giving, *poorrɛmlɛ* I am going. KD has *vaa* and *ṭaa* with long vowel *aa*, as stems in the present-future. In OD the stems have *var-* and *ṭar-* as allomorphs in the present-future: *varrrẽẽ* I am coming, *arrrẽẽ* I am giving. In KF also the stem *var-* is found in the present-future neuter, e. g. *varrri* it is coming.

4 3.3 The future suffixes are *p* and *v* and in both classes the suffix in the neuter is *im*. Though the future finite forms were elicited in paradigms, in actual conversation future is frequently expressed by periphrastic construction, the present-future finite form of the verb *poo* go, following the infinitive forms of verbs, e. g. *paakɛ poorrɛmlɛ* I am going to see. This is found in KVHN also.

4.3.4 A finite verb in KF does not end with the personal suffixes, but with addressee suffixes. Addrsssee suffixes are suffixes referring to the persons one is talking to. There are four addressee suffixes, *-lɛ* masculine non-honorific, *-vɛ* masculine honorific, *iki* ∽ *-ki* feminine non-honorific where *-iki* occurs after a consonant and *-ki* after a vowel, and *iyɛ* ∽ *-yɛ* feminine honorific where *-iyɛ* occurs after a consonant and *-yɛ* after a vowel. *-iyɛ* and *-yɛ* are also used to refer to males of equal age. The honorific suffixes are used while speaking to older people and the non-honorific while speaking to the younger ones. This feature is disappearing in the speech of the younger generation.[14]

14. Emeneau M. B., The *Dravidian Verbs Come and Give*, Language 21 (1945). He states that the forms *ṭaar* and *vaar* occur as negative stems in South Dravidian. In the dialects of Kanyakumari Tamil *ṭaar* and *vaar* occur as stems in affirmative. In some dialects in KD the pre-

In other castes in Kanyakumari district *lɛ* occurs as the masculine non-honorific and *-ḍi* as the feminine non-honorific. There is no honorific suffix. But the occurrence of *lɛ* and *ḍi* is not obligatory. In OD *ṅgɛ* occurs as the addressee honorific suffix[15] and *ḍaa* as masculine non-honorific. But they occur with any word except a noun attribute.

4.4 The future definitive suffix is *-r-* (KVHN) and perhaps this feature extends upto Madurai. In other dialects it is *ḍi* KVHN *vanḏirlãã*, OD *vanḏiḍlãã* we can come.

4 5.1 The negative *illɛ* no, is *lɛ* after the verbal participle and the neuter finite, but *illɛ* when it occurs free or after the infinitives: *vanḏilɛ* it didn't come, *kaṇḍilɛ* didn't see, couldn't see, *viṭicilɛ* it didn't leave, *yeṭicilɛ* it couldn't be touched, reached, *varɛ illɛ* didn't come, *kɛḷɛmbɛ illɛ* didn't start The occurrence of *lɛ* after the verbal participle and the netuer past finite is characteristic of KHF. This feature is found in Old Tamil and in modern WT. After the verbal participle, *il* occurs followed by the personal endings, e. g. *vanḏilan* he didn't come, *vanḏilaḷ* she didn't come. The occurrence after the neuter past finite may be traced to the occurrence of *illay* after the past verbal nouns in OT and WT which has the same form as the past neuter finite, e. g. *eṭṭiyaṭu illay* couldn't be reached, *viṭṭaṭu illay* didn't leave.

sent-future is *ṭaarrẽẽ* I am giving, *vaarrẽẽ* I am coming. The long vowel is preserved here, also in the affirmative in spite of the trill *-rr-*.

15. M. Shanmugam Pillai, *Spoken Tamil*, Lesson 8, Annamalai University, 1965. Brahmins use *ḍi* as feminine non-honorific.

4.5.2 Present-future negative suffix *aaḏi* as in *varaaḏi* it will not come, is found as *aari*, e. g. *varaari* it will not come. This is due to the phonological correspondence of 2.13 above.

5.1 Out of the twenty-three phonological correspondences (2) there are 15 KF, 7 KVHNF. and 1 KHNF. Under kinship terms (3.1,3.2,) there are 5 KF, 8 KVHNF, 5 KHNF and 3 KNF. Under pronouns (3.3) there are 6 KF, 11 KVHNF, 2 KHNF. 2 KVF. Under cases (3.4, 3.5) there are 1 KF, 1 KVHNF and 1 KHNF. Under stem formative suffixes (4.1) there is 1 KHNF. Under personal suffixes and other verbal endings (4.3.1, 4.3.2) there are 9 KF, 6 KVHNE and 1 KVHF. In the negative, there is 1 KF. They are tabulated as follows:

	KF	KVHNF	KHNF	KVHF	KVF	KNF	KHF
Phonology	15	7	2	–	–	–	–
Kinship terms	5	8	5	–	–	3	–
Pronouns	6	11	2	–	2	–	–
Cases	1	1	1	–	–	–	–
Stem formative	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Verbal endings	9	6	–	1	–	–	–
Present-future	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Negative	2	–	–	–	–	–	1
Total	38	33	11	1	2	3	1

5.2 Some recent studies on the language situation in South Asian countries have investigated problems of socio-linguistic innovations and conservatism and concluded that no dialect has any monopoly over innovations

in any part of the structure.[16] Innovations in dialects can only be comparative and it is doubtful whether any dialect can enjoy monopoly otherwise. Out of the eighty-nine items discussed here, 38 items are innovations for KF in comparison with items shared with KVHN, KHN etc. 35 items are shared with KVHN, the major dialects in that district. KF cannot be said to be closer to any one particular dialect. In fact as might be expected, the shared features with KVHN will be very great if all the items are listed. The eleven KHNF features may suggest that in a trichotomy of Tamil dialects, (1) Brahmin, (2) Higher Non-Brahmin and (3) Lower Non-Brahmin, this dialect is nearer to the third group. KF with its 38 innovations and with 3, 2, and 1 shared features with any-one particular dialect from the same district, may be considered to be more innovating. This is a comparison between shared features and innovations. Another profitable and perhaps more useful approach would be to compare the number of innovations in each dialect out of a total number of test items and then decide which is

16. Bright, William, *Linguistic Change in Some South Indian Caste Dialects* in Linguistic Diversity in South Asia, RCPAFL 13 (1960). Bright William and A. K. Ramanujan, *Sociolinguistic Variations and Language Change* in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics, Cambridge, Mass., 1962. Ramanujan A. K., *The structure of Variations: A Study in Caste Dialects* (mimeograph).

'Innovation' in this paper is used to refer to the items peculiar to the dialect, including innovations and conservatisms referred to in the papers above. No historical implication is conveyed by this term.

more innovating and which is less. A stray example here and one there will not prove anything.

6. The motivation in Tamil dilaect-switching is the hierarchy of the caste structure coupled with its prestige and politics and not any economic and educational factors. The economically and educationally backward lower castes and the economically and educationally forward higher caste-the Brahmins, both switch to a Higher Non-Brahmin dialect. The rising generation in KF also switches to a dialect closer to KV. The anti-Brahmin movement resulted in the loss of prestige for the Brahmin dialect and even the Brahmins found it wiser to switch to the Higher Non-Brahmin dialect though it does not elevate them in the caste hierarchy. The Lower Non-Brahmins, because of the social stigma attached to their speech, switch to the Higher non-Brahmin dialect. It is quite common even among the older generation in KF to disown many of these innovations because of the social stigma attached to them and attribute them to their own kin in the next village or to their predecessors. "We don't speak like that, our people speak like that in the next village" is a common reply when we consciously try to elicit some forms which we know they use. A field worker has to be very alert and record them unaware. Unless these dialects are recorded right now, there is the danger that we may lose them forever.

kεεḷi ask for, ask

1	2	3	4	5
nãã	*kεεṭεmlε*	*kεεṭẽνε*	*kεεṭεmiki*	*kεεṭεmiyε*
	kεεkεmlε	*kεεkẽνε*	*kεεkεmiki*	*kεεkεmiyε*
	kεεpεmlε	*kεεpẽνε*	*kεεpεmiki*	*kεεpεmiyε*
naamiyε	*kεεṭεmlε*	*kεεṭẽνε*	*kεεṭεmiki*	*kεεṭεmiyε*
	kεεkεmlε	*kεεkẽνε*	*kεεkεmiki*	*kεεkεmiyε*
	kεεpεmlε	*kεεpẽνε*	*kεεpεmiki*	*kεεpεmiyε*
nii	*kεεṭεlε*		*kεεṭεki*	
	kεεkεlε		*kεεkεki*	
	kεεpεlε		*kεεpεki*	
niimiyε	*kεεṭεεrlε*	*kεεṭεεrivε*	*kεεṭεεriki*	*kεεṭεεriyε*
	kεεkεεrlε	*kεεkεεrivε*	*kεεkεεriki*	*kεεkεεriyε*
	kεεpεεrlε	*kεεpεεrivε*	*kεεpεεriki*	*kεεpεεriyε*
niiri		*kεεṭεεrivε*		
		kεεkεεrivε		
		kεεpεεrivε		
avẽ	*kεεṭaamlε*	*kεεṭããνε*	*kεεṭaamiki*	*kεεṭaamiyε*
	kεεkaamlε	*kεεkããνε*	*kεεpaamiki*	*kεεkaamiyε*
	kεεpaamlε	*kεεpããνε*	*kεεkaamiki*	*kεεpaamiyε*
avanivε	*kεεṭaamlε*	*kεεṭããνε*	*kεεṭaamiki*	*kεεṭaamiyε*
	kεεkaamlε	*kεεkããνε*	*kεεkaamiki*	*kεεkaamiyε*
	kεεpaamlε	*kεεpããνε*	*kεεpaamiki*	*kεεpaamiyε*
ava	*kεεṭaalε*	*kεεṭaanε*	*kεεṭaaki*	*kεεṭaayε*
	kεεkaalε	*kεεkaanε*	*kεεkaaki*	*kεεkaayε*
	kεεpaalε	*kεεpaanε*	*kεεpaaki*	*kεεpaayε*
avaḷivε	*kεεṭaalε*	*kεεṭaanε*	*kεεṭaaki*	*kεεṭaayε*
	kεεkaalε	*kεεkaanε*	*kεεkaaki*	*kεεkaayε*
	kεεpaalε	*εεpaanε*	*kεεpaaki*	*kεεpaayε*
avari	*kεεṭaarlε*	*kεεṭaarivε*	*kεεṭaariki*	*kεεṭaariyε*
	kεεkaarlε	*kεεkaarivε*	*kεεkaariki*	*kεεkaariyε*
	kεεpaarlε	*kεεpaarivε*	*kεεpaariki*	*kεεpaariyε*
adi	*kεεṭilε*	*kεεṭivε*	*kεεṭiki*	*kεεṭiyε*
	kεεkilε	*kεεkivε*	*kεεkiki*	*kεεkiyε*
	kεεkimlε	*kεεkĩνε*	*kεεkimiki*	*kεεkimiyε*

9. English Borrowings in Educated Tamil.[1]

1. 1 In sections 2 to 6, this paper attempts to comparatively investigate whether morphological and syntactic classes of loans have the same grammatical privileges in the donor and the donee languages[2], with special reference to English borrowings in educated Tamils' speech.

1. 2 In Section 7, the paper suggests that the use of auxiliaries in adopting English loans may be an area feature for the Indian languages.

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1. These loans were collected over a period of two years from Annamalai University Tamil students' speech, observing them in ordinary conversation. The help rendered by some of my Linguistics M. A. students in collecting these loans from their own speech is hereby acknowledged. Though collected from the students' speech, several of these terms, excepting the technical terms, are quite common in the informal conversation of any college educated Tamilian.

We have given a number of examples of these loans under each division to give an idea of the density of such loans in ordinary conversation.

2. A donor is the language from which linguistic forms are borrowed and a donee is the language into which they are borrowed.

1. 3 Section 8 deals with some of the slangs where the English prefixes and suffixes are borrowed. It also deals with a diamorphic identification between English and Tamil.

2. 1 The presence or absence of loan words from English in Annamalai University Tamil students' speech differentiates two distinct styles of speech. In ordinary conversation, when the students converse among themselves or with their teacher informally, their speech is replete with English loan words—importations. But the same students, when they speak on a platform, or when they speak on formal occasions, or when they write, rarely use these loans. Instead, these loans are replaced by substitutions. It is an oft observed situation, when an orator, addressing the students, uses any such English loans there is restlessness among the students, expressed in the form of a gentle laughter or hissing sound, indicating their disapproval of such a style. On such occasions substitutions are used, which are quite well-known. But if the speaker feels that his substitution is not well understood by his audience, he first gives the substitution and then gives the corresponding English word, as if within brackets. This is an accepted mode of formal style. The same technique is followed in writing also. To illustrate with an example, the speaker would say *vaanoli nilayyam* for radio station, and will not care to give the corresponding English word, because this substitution is quite well-known. But referring to the sputnik, he would say "*ceyaṟkay caṉṉiran*—sputnik", because this substitution is not quite popular yet.

2. 2 In this paper the first of the two styles is taken for discussion. The range of usage of such loans varies with the subject-matter. If the students speak about the

National Cadet Corps, or about their laboratories, the density is more than when they talk about their homes or villages.

2. 3 These loans from English into the students' speech have the same phonemic forms as they have, when they speak English. That is, the phonemic forms are the same as those found in their English—Tamilian English. This does not apply to loans fully assimilated into the language. These fully assimilated loans are used as such even on platforms and no substitution is attempted. e.g. *kaappi* "coffee". Such loans are excluded from this study.

3.1 The classification of loans is one of the very early and fascinating studies for philologists. With the advancement in modern linguistics, more refinements are being brought into this study.

3.2 Einar Haugen[3] has suggested, in interlingual, identification, the setting up of diaphonic and diamorphic relationship. This can be set up either in bilingual situations where one speaks a second language or in cases of interference where importations or substitution are involved. The diaphonic identification is demonstrated by Haugen with English spoken by the Spanish. A Spanish speaker replaces the final *-m*, *-n*, and *-ṅ* in English by *-n*. That is, *-n* has diaphones *-m*, *-n*, and *-ṅ* in English and this correspondence is represented as E/*-m*, *-n*, *-ṅ*>*-n*/S. Diaphones are thus bilingual allophones and would be determined (1) analytically by phonetic distributional similarity, and (2) checked pragmatically by the cases of interference resulting from the identifications.

3. Einar Haugen: *Bilingualism in the Americas* (3.3 2.4), American Dialect Society, 1956.

3.3 The same technique may be extended to morphemic level and we can set up diamorphs corresponding to diaphones. Diamorphs are interlingually identified variants of morphemes. This identification is more difficult than diaphonic identification.

3.4 The author of this paper suggests diaclasses under diamorphology. This is illustrated here by a study of the English loans in Annamalai University Tamil students' speech. The word classes of the loans are analysed and diaclasses are established as they are used in English and in Tamil. If A and B are the languages, the donor and the donee, C_1, C_2, C_3, etc. are the word classes of some expressions in A, which, as loans in B, belong to word class C_1 in the environment E_1, and if m. indicates morphological class, s. syntactical class, then diaclasses between languages A and B are demonstrated as follows:

$$\text{m. } C_1, \text{ s. } C_2, \text{ m.} C_3 \,]_A \approx \text{s.} C_1 \,]_B \, E_1$$

4.1 In Tamil the verbs *paṇṇi*[4] 'do', *pooḍi* "put", *viḍi* "leave" and *aḍi* "beat" or verb phrases with these as heads, like *siikrõ paṇṇi* "do quickly", *meḏivaa pooḍi* "put gently", *siikrõ viḍi* "leave quickly", *veegamaa aḍi* "beat strongly" where *siikrõ*, *meḏivaa* and *veegamaa* are in attributive constructions with the heads, occur as auxiliaries giving the action as indicated by the nouns just preceding them. Before these auxiliaries, simple or phrasal, only nouns can occur in Tamil.

4. Tamil expressions are given in phonemic spelling according to the author's system. The uses of different auxiliaries sometimes bring in difference in meaning. e. g. fail *paṇṇi* fail someone, fail *aagi* fail yourself, get failed, repair *aaki* make something out of order, repair *paṇṇi* repair, set right something. Such problems are not discussed in this paper.

4.2.1. The auxiliary *paṇṇi* occurs in Tamil in constructions like *keeli paṇṇi* make fun, *kalaaṭaa paṇṇi* create trouble, *kaḍε paṇṇi* tell falsehood, *ṭaajaa paṇṇi* cajole, *cεεṭε paṇṇi* do naughty things, *kurrimbi paṇṇi* do naughty things, *aẓiki paṇṇi* make dirty, *muḍivi paṇṇi* decide, *tiirmaanõ paṇṇi* decide, *kalyaaṇõ paṇṇi* marry, *laḍḍi paṇṇi* prepare laḍḍus (an edible), *jileebi paṇṇi* prepare jilebi (an edible), *kolε paṇṇi* kill, *cavarõ paṇṇi* shave, *alaṅgaarõ paṇṇi* decorate, *aaravaarõ paṇṇi* make noise, *alaṅgoolõ paṇṇi* make ugly, *nagε paṇṇi* make jewels, *tooḍi paṇṇi* make ear-rings, *muukuṭi paṇṇi* make nose-rings, etc.

4.2.2. We now give below constructions of the English loans with auxiliary *paṇṇi*. In these constructions with the auxiliaries *paṇṇi*, *pooḍi*, *viḍi*, and *aḍi*, the meaning is that the actions indicated by the loans are to be done. The English loans are given in the traditional spelling. The word classes of these loans are indicated as N = Noun, V = Verb, A = Adjective, Adv. = Adverb, P = Preposition, G = Gerund, P. = Present participle. These classes are identified on the basis of the English dictionaries, particularly the Webster's.

4.2.3. N in the donor.[5]

idea *paṇṇi* give an idea.

5. Hockett has suggested N, A, V, NA, NV, AV, NAV as major form classes for English on the basis of the inflectional suffixes, cf. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Chapter 26, Parts of Speech, The Macmillan and Company, New York, 1958. We have borrowed these symbols and added a few more. In the absence of a native speaker's command of English, we have classified the words only on the authority of English dictionaries, particularly Webster's.

4.2.4. V in the donor.

paṇṇi occurs with the following words which belong to the class V and convert them into verbs in Tamil.

accumulate, accuse, adopt, allow, amuse, analyse, arrange, assume, begin, bless, breathe, classify, communicate, complain, compose, confuse, continue, deceive, demonstrate, depend, depute, destroy, detect, discontinue, edit, endure, exaggerate, explain, expose, imitate, impose induce, inform, inject, innoculate, insure, object, obstruct, oppose, overtake, perform, plead, pray, predict, propagate, protect, prove, reduce, refer, reflect, renew, submit, subtract, suffer, think, threaten, translate, warn and withdraw.

4.2 5 A is the donor.

nice *paṇṇi* "do something to please", strict *paṇṇi* "make things strict", tight *paṇṇi* "make tight".

4.2.6 NV in the donor. The following words with which *paṇṇi* occurs belong to the class NV.

advice/advise, aim, answer, assign, blame, blink, blunder, borrow, bowl, call, care, cash, chase, claim, command, compare, cook, copy, deal, dispose, divide, dupe, excuse, exhibit, face, fail, feel, fight, file, follow, fool, force, form, frame, gather, heat, help, hint, hurt, import, joke, jump, kiss, lecture, lift, load, lock, love, mark, milk, mind, mistake, misuse, murder, note, paint, pass, phone, pick, pin, pitch, place, polish, post, powder, praise, press, print, produce, pull, push, question, raise, ring, screw, seal, shake, shave, shift, shine, shoot, show, sign, smile, spin, spread, stand, start, stay, step, stitch, stretch, strike, cross, struggle, study, style, support, swallow, swim, test, throw, tick, trace, treat, trouble, type, use, vomit, vote, wait, walk, watch, and win.

4.2.7 NVA in the donor.

bluff *paṇṇi* "tell lies", catch *paṇṇi* "catch (something)", check *paṇṇi* "check (something)", cross *paṇṇi* "strike off (something)", cut *paṇṇi* "cut (something)", draft *paṇṇi* "make a draft", drive *paṇṇi* "drive (something/someone)", "elect *paṇṇi* "elect (someone)", mock *paṇṇi* "make fun", pack *paṇṇi* "pack (something)", pay *paṇṇi* "pay (someone)", present *paṇṇi* "present (something)", reserve *paṇṇi* "reserve (something)", return *paṇṇi* "return (something)", run *paṇṇi* "run (for something), run", side *paṇṇi* "side (with someone)", total *paṇṇi* "find the total", waste *paṇṇi* "waste (something)",

4.2.8 NAPAdv in the donor.

in *paṇṇi* "tuck the shirt inside the pants", off *paṇṇi* "switch off", on *paṇṇi* "switch on".

4.2.9 NVAPAdv in the donor.

like *paṇṇi* "like (something)", out *paṇṇi* "strike (the ball) out".

4.2.10 Diaclasses.

N, V, A, NV, NVA, NAPAdv, NVAPAdv $]_E$ ∽s.N$]_T$ before *paṇṇi*. Constructions with *paṇṇi* are very productive.

4.3.1 The auxiliary verb *pooḍi* occurs in constructions like *naamõ pooḍi* "deceive", *maṭõ pooḍi* "be absent", *kullaa pooḍi* "try to please someone", *naaḍagõ pooḍi* "act, pretend, enact a drama", *caṇḍε pooḍi* "fight", *arrε pooḍi* "give a blow, allot a room", *aṭε pooḍi* "wrap (a book)", *kaṇaki pooḍi* "work out the sum", *mariṉḍi pooḍi* "apply medicine", *raṣõ pooḍi* "add rasam", *coorri pooḍi* "put rice", *caṭε pooḍi* "put on a shirt", *ṭaavaṇi pooḍi* "put on half-sari".

4.3.2 N in the donor.

designation *pooḍi* write down the designation, drama *pooḍi* put on a play, goal *pooḍi* give a goal' injection *pooḍi* give an injection; take an injection, pants *pooḍi* wear pants, road *pooḍi* "construct a road, specks *pooḍi* wear glasses, shirt *pooḍi* wear a shirt, sweater *pooḍi* put on a sweater.

4.3.3 NV in the donor. The following words with which *pooḍi* occurs belong to the NV class.

ball, bandage, board, button, call, camp, card case, circle, chart, colour, condition, curtain, date, design, fan, grade, ink, letter, line, map, mark, number, place, room, shift, suit, sugar, switch, whistle, zero.

4.3.4 NA in the donor.

coffee *pooḍi* prepare coffee, excess *pooḍi* give excess, trunk *pooḍi* put a trunk call through.

4.3.5 NVA in the donor.

glass *pooḍi* put on glasses, motor *pooḍi* switch on the motor, paper *pooḍi* supply newspaper, service *pooḍi* give service as in tennis or badminton, time *pooḍi* allot time.

4.3.6 NVAAdv in the donor.

light *pooḍi* switch on the light.

4.3.7 Diaclasses.

N, NV, NA, NVA, NVAAdv $]_E$ ∽ s N$]_T$ before *pooḍi*

4.4.1 The auxiliary *viḍi* occurs in constructions like *kaḍε viḍi* tell lies etc.

4.4.2 N in the donor.

gap *viḍi* leave unattempted (the ball as in tennis or badminton).

4.4.3 NV in the donor.

dupe *viḍi* tell lies, gas *viḍi* tell lies.

4.4.4 Diaclasses

N, NV]$_E$ ⊆ s. N]$_T$ before *viḍi*

This class is not a productive pattern.

4.5.1 The auxiliary *aḍi* occurs in constructions like *maṇi aḍi* strike the bell, *veḷlε aḍi* whitewash (something), *ṭaṉḏi aḍi* send a wire, *aci aḍi* print, *kaṇṇi aḍi* tip a person winking the eyes, *areṭε aḍi* talk just to kill the time, *oosi aḍi* get something free, *kaaṭi aḍi* "pump air", *vaṇḍi aḍi* drive a cart, *aaṇi aḍi* drive in a nail, *koṭi aḍi* beat the drum, *vayṭlε aḍi* beat on the stomach, deceive, deprive of something, *neñjilε aḍi* beat on the chest; do something harmful to be felt very much.

4.5.2 N in the donor. The following words with which *aḍi* occurs belong to the N class.

lottery, luck, pick pocket, torch, telegram.

4.5.3 NV in the donor. The following words with which *aḍi* occurs belong to the NV class.

bore, camp, colour, copy, crow, dive, dupe, hint, kiss, notice, paint, pump, seal, shock, sight, tick, trip, twist, type, whistle, wit.

4.5.4 NVA in the donor. The following words with which *aḍi* occurs belong to the NVA class.

air, chance, cross, cut, oil, water.

4.5.5 NVAAdv in the donor.

light *aḍi* give light (as from a torch).

4.5.6 NVAPAdv in the donor.

out *aḍi* strike (the ball) out.

4.5.7 Diaclasses.

N,NV, NVA, NVAAdv, NVAPAdv]$_E$ ⊆ s. N]$_T$ before *aḍi*.

5.1 In Tamil the suffix *aa* occurs with nouns, simple or derived, converting them into adverbs, which are in attributive construction with a finite verb or a finite verb phrase. e.g. *meḏivi* slowness, *meḏivaa* slowly, *meḏivaa vaṉḏãã* he came slowly, *meḏivaa naḍaṉḏi vaṉḏãã* He came walking slowly. This adverbial suffix occurs with English loans of different word classes.

5.2 N in the donor.

accident*aa*[6] full of accidents, beauty*yaa* (being)beatiful, boy*aa* as a boy, bangalow*vaa* full of bangalows, car*aa* full of cars, cinema*vaa* a number of films, collector*aa* as a collector, comedy*yaa* as a comedy, exhibition*aa* a number of exhibitions, professor*aa* as a professor, height*aa* (being) high, journal*aa* full of journals, idea*vaa* full of ideas, jungle*aa* full of jungles, tragedy*yaa* as a tragedy, university*yaa* a number of universities.

5.3 A in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the A class.

bold, bulky, difficult, hot, neat, nice, sincere, strong, tall, tight, witty, actual, acute, additional, advantageous, aged, aggressive, agreeable, allergic, applicable, appreciable, beautiful, careless, cogent, conscious, continuous, convenient, creditable, happy, sincere, tragic, weak.

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6. English loans are given in the traditional spelling and the adverbial suffixes are given in italics to avoid confusion. The advebial morpheme ^{m}/*aa*/ has conditioned variants ^{a}/*aa*, *yaa*, *vaa*/ where *yaa* occurs after front vowels, *vaa* after back vowels, and *aa* after consonants.

There is also an interrogative suffix *aa* in Tamil which occurs with nouns, finite and non-finite verbs, postpositions, etc. and this adverbial suffix should not be confused with the interrogative suffix.

5.4 NV in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the NV class.

cloud, colour, cycle, demand, human, joke, letter, line, notice, park, powder, question, soap, weight, wonder, clerk.

5.5 NA in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the NA class.

active, heavy, modern, red, problem, stiff, thick, principal, legal, simple, comfortable.

5.6 VA in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the VA class.

blunt, busy, correct, dull, thin.

5.7 NVA in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the NVA class.

black, book, garden, gentle, man, oil, ready, run, slight, waste, white.

5.8 NAAdv in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the NAAdv class.

first, bright, straight, last, plain, tip-top, broad, high.

5.9 VAAdv in the donor.

clean*aa* (being) very clean, cleanly, further*aa* further.

5.10 NVAAdv in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the NVAAdv class.

fair, wrong, light, jolly, short, quick.

5.11 GPl in the donor. The following words with which *aa* occurs belong to the GPl class.

confusing, irritating, mocking, wounding, shinning.

5.12 NVAPAdv in the donor.

out*aa* being out.

5.13 Diaclasses

N, A, NV, NA, VA, NVA, NAAdv, VAAdv, NVA-Adv, GPl, NVAPAdv]$_E$ ≤ m. N]$_T$ before the adverbial suffix *aa*.

6.1 From the data shown above and from the correspondences, certain generalizations can be made. Whatever be the class of these loans in the donor, in Tamil all of them come under the noun class. The borrowings, even if they are verbs in the donor, are never conjugated like the Tamil verbs. Instead they are converted into verbal phrases with *paṇṇi*, *pooḍi*, *viḍi* and *aḍi* as auxiliaries and these auxiliaries are conjugated with tense, gender and number suffixes. It seems to be a feature of Modern Tamil to borrow only as nouns, whatever be the class of these loans in the donor. It is worth investigating whether languages have different preferences of this type in borrowing. Some of the loans can be declined for cases, like the nouns in Tamil. e.g ball > ballε ball (accusative), ball*aalε* by the ball(instrumental) out*lε* on the outside, answer*lε* in the answer, etc.

7.1 Most of the modern Indian languages, whether Dravidian or Indo-Aryan, follow a similar pattern, using auxiliaries or something similar, in adopting the loans from English. These auxiliaries as full verbs, have similar semantic ranges in these languages. This method of adopting English loans seems to be an area feature for the Indian languages.[7] We give below a few example from some of the modern Indian languages. These loans

7. M. B Emeneau : (1) *India as a Linguistic Area*, Language 32, 1956, and *Collected Papers* Annamalai University. (2) *India and Historical Grammar*, Annamalai University, 1965.

have to be worked out in complete detail for each of the Indian languages before we could deduce more definite generalizations.

7.2 In Malayalam[8] *cey* do, *aakki* make, *iḍɛ* put, *viḍi* leave, and *aḍi* beat are used as auxiliaries in such loans.

Corresponding to *paṇṇi* in Tamil (4.2,) Malayalam uses *cey* e.g. arrange *cey*, adopt *cey*, begin *cey*, etc. But when the loans belong to class A in the donors(4.2.5) only *aakkə* is used in Malayalam. e.g. nice *aakkə*, strict *aakkə*, tight *aakkə*, etc. With NAPAdv (4.2.8) also only *aakkə* is used. e.g. off *aakkə*[9]

Corresponding to *pooḍi* (4.3) Malayalam uses *iḍə*. But this usage is not wide-spread in Malayalam. *iḍə* is used only in the meaning of "to put on" or "to place down". e.g. shirt *iḍə*.

aḍi in Malayalam corresponds to *viḍi* and *aḍi* in Tamil (4.4 and 4.5).

Corresponding to the adverbial suffix *aa* (5) Malayalam has *aayi*.

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8. I am indebted to several of my colleagues in my department for information on their languages. Malayalam—K. M. Prabhakara Wariar, Kannada—K. Kushalappa Gowda, Telugu—P. S. Subramaniyam, Bengali—V. Bhattacharia, Hindi—Gulam Rasool.

9. In Tamil also *aagi* and *aaki* occur as auxiliaries in such borrowings, *aagi* gives intransitive verbal phrase and *aaki* the transitive verbal phrase; fail *aayiṭɛɛ* "you failed (yourself)"; fail *aakiṭɛɛ* "you failed someone"; pass *aayiṭɛɛ* "you passed (yourself)"; pass *aakiṭɛɛ* "you passed someone" etc.

7.3 Kannada uses *maaḍu* "do", corresponding to *paṇṇi* (4.2), *haaku* "put", corresponding to *pooḍi* (4.3) and *hoḍe* "beat", corresponding to *aḍi* (4.5) as auxiliaries in such borrowings.

e.g. adopt *maaḍu*, allow *maaḍu*, analyse *maaḍu*, connect *maaḍu*, act *maaḍu*, advice *maaḍu*, dispose *maaḍu*, copy *hoḍe*, bore *hoḍe*, button *haaku*, letter *haaku*, etc.

In Kannada the forms preceding *maaḍu* belong to the category of verb and the forms preceding *hoḍe* and *haaku* belong to the noun category.

7.4 Telugu uses *ceeyu* "to do", *veeyu* "to wear, to throw", and *koṭṭu* "to strike, beat" as auxiliaries in such loans.

Corresponding to *paṇṇi* (4.2) Telugu uses *ceeyu*. e.g. accuse *ceeyu*, adopt *ceeyu*, analyse *ceeyu*, arrange *ceeyu*, tight *ceeyu*, act *ceeyu*, attempt *ceeyu*, bluff *ceeyu* catch *ceeyu*, off *ceeyu* etc.

Corresponding to *pooḍi* (4.3) Telugu uses *veeyu* e.g. drama *veeyu*, road *veeyu*, ball *veeyu*, camp *veeyu*.

Generally, *ceeyu* is used when the meaning is transitive and *veeyu* when the meaning is intransitive.

Corresponding to *aḍi* (4.5.) Telugu uses *koṭṭu*. e.g. bore *koṭṭu*, colour *koṭṭu*, copy *koṭṭu*, paint *koṭṭu*, type *koṭṭu* etc.

Corresponding to the adverbial suffix *aa* (5), Telugu has *gaa*. e.g. bold*gaa*, difficult*gaa*, hot*gaa*, comfortable*gaa*, blunt*gaa*, first*gaa*, last*gaa*, bright*gaa*, confusing*gaa*, irritating*gga* etc.

7.5 Bengali uses *kɔra* "do" and *ḍɛva* "give" as auxiliaries in such borrowings. *kɔra* is more productive than *ḍɛva*. Generally *kɔra* is used in cases of verbs and *ḍɛva* in cases of nouns.

wait *kɔra*, surrender *kɔra*, mind *kɔra*, reject *kɔra*, destroy *kɔra*, type *kɔra*, close *kɔra*, refuse *kɔra*, deny *kɔra*, oppose *kɔra*, support *kɔra*, verify *kɔra* etc.

Permission *ḏɛva*, attention *ḏɛva*, service *ḏɛva*, information *ḏɛva*, obstruction *ḏɛva*, blame *ḏɛva*, trouble *ḏɛva* kiss *ḏɛva*, lecture *ḏɛva*, punishment *ḏɛva* etc.

7.6 Hindi uses *karo* "do" corresponding to *paṇṇi*, *ḍaala* "put", corresponding to *pooḍi*, *chooḍo* corresponding to *viḍi*, *maaro* corresponding to *aḍi*, and *ḏoo* "give" as auxiliaries with such loans.

e g. allow *karo*, arrange *karo*, begin *karo*, classify *karo*, continue *karo*, ball *ḍaalo*, camp *ḍaalo*, card *ḍaalo*, curtain *chooḍo*, colour *ḏo*, notice *ḏo*, pump *maaro*, type *maaro* etc.

7.7 In Garo *ka'-a*, verb base *ka'-*, is used as a device for adopting non-Garo words into the language. *repot ka'-a-ha* "reported".[10]

8.1 In this section we deal with some of the slangs quite common among the students. The loans so far discussed are free forms. There are also a few cases where the suffixes and the prefixes are borrowed from English, a rare phenomenon in borrowing. *sagi* "tolerate" is a native item. The infinitive form is *sagiykɛ* "to tolerate" to which the English negative prefix *an-* and the adjectival suffix *-able* are added and we have the form *ansagiykabil* "not tolerable, intolerable" on the pattern of unagreeable etc. *samaaḷi* "try to withstand", *koḷari* "mix up, confuse" take the suffix *-ify* from English giving the forms *samaaḷifay*, *koḷarifay* on the analogy of verify, qualify, rectify, modify, specify, ratify, etc. The

10. Robbin Burling: *A Garo Grammar* (2.11), Linguistic Society of India, Monograph Series 2, 1961.

reason which prompted the segmentation of *-ify* as a suffix in English in these words is not clear. To these forms, suffixes *-ing* and *-cation* are added and we have forms like *samaaḷifayṅ*, *koḷarifayṅ*, *samaaḷifikeešan*, *koḷarifikeešan* on the analogy of qualifying—qualification, verifying—verification etc. The word *bayaṅgarõ* "fearful" takes the suffix *-atic* as in idiomatic, diplomatic etc., and we have the expression *bayaṅgaramɛɛtik* "fearful".

8.2 The word "writer" refers to the clerk in the hostel and "warden" is the hostel warden. In Tamil *-ar* is a third person plural or a third person singular honorific suffix, and *-an* is the masculine singular suffix non-honorific. In the hostel, warden should be respected, not the clerk, and hence the slangs *rayṭan* (*writen*) for writer and *waarḍar* (*warder*) for warden.

8.3 In the above cases (8.2) they are slangs. We have also regular forms in writing and in speech where such an identification has taken place. In the loan *villan* from English villain, *-an* is identified with the masculine singular suffix of Tamil and hence a corresponding feminine form *villi* is created on the analogy of *ṭooẓan* "male friend" and *ṭooẓi* "female friend". These two words are often used to refer to the villains, male and female, in films and in dramas. They are also used in film magazines like Peecum Paṭam. This is a diamorphic identification as demonstrated below.

-an]$_E$ in villain ≍ *-an*]$_T$ (masculine singular suffix)

This has happened on the basis of homophonous diamorphs. Haugen considers such cases as loan shifts.[11]

11. Einar Haugen: *Bilingualism in the Americas* (3.4.4-6), American Dialect Society, 1956.

8.4 *-isim* is a suffix borrowed from English which occurs in words like communism, socialism etc., and we have the word *periyaarisim* in Tamil (*periyaar+isim*) referring to the views of the DMK leader Periyaar. This has also found a place in modern written Tamil.

10. Tamil—Literary and Colloquial[1]-1

1. Introductory
2. Phonological Differences
3. Morphological Differences
4. Conclusion

1.0 This is a comparative study of the differences in phonology and in noun inflection between two distinct styles of Tamil, which the present author uses on different social occasions. The Literary Tamil (LT) is the one he employs in class-room lectures, in public meetings, and on certain other formal occasions. The vocabulary of this latter style corresponds to his writings in journals. The pronunciation is similar to that of the All India Radio news broadcasts in Tamil and to that ordinarily em-

1. I would like to express my gratitude to The Rockefeller Foundation for a fellowship which enabled me to study linguistics at Cornell University, Ithaca (1956 - 57) and at the University of California, Berkeley (1957 - 58) and particularly to Dr. John J. Gumperz, University of California, Berkeley, who suggested and helped in the preparation of this paper, and Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, who read the first draft.

ployed in reading a written text. The Colloquial Tamil (CT) is the one he uses in ordinary conversations, when talking to his family and friends and also to students outside the classroom. It is similar to the style employed by other educated native Tamils throughout the present Madras state, but differs from the speech of the uneducated. The dialects used by the latter show a number of regional and caste variations, which have not as yet been systematically studied.[2]

1.1 The LT demands a few more clarifications. Prose writings of the last century and even of the early years of this century were replete with Sanskrit words. During the early decades of this century the purist movement started by Maraimalai Adigal, which advocated the removal of all foreign words from Tamil, left a permanent impact on modern Tamil prose. Very few writers were left untouched by this impact. Modern Tamil prose including that of the present author, though not one hundred percent 'pure', is purer than what it was a few decades ago. These changes however were confined to the lexicon and have had little effect on the structure of the language as such. The LT described here also differs from the rhetorical style used in the speech making of certain political organizations which is characterized by long sentences, complicated syntax and certain characteristic intonation patterns. It is further distinct from the so-called Pandit style replete with archaic technical terms and grammatical features. This latter style, is occasionally used by the present author while discussing ancient grammatical treatises but not in talking about more general subjects and writing for the general public.

2. LT and CT have the same inventory of phonemes.[3]

Consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar
Stops	*p*	*ṯ*	*t*	*ṭ*	*c*	*k*
	b	*ḏ*		*ḍ*	*ǰ*	g
Spirants	*f*		*s*			
				ẓ		
Nasals	*m* *v*	*ṉ*	*n*	*ṇ*	*ñ*	*ṅ*
Laterals			*l*	*ḷ*		
Flap			*r*			
Semi-consonants					*y*	

Vowels

i	*e*	æ	*a*	*o*	*u*
ii	*ee*		*aa*	*oo*	*uu*

The phonetic correlates[4] of the above symbols are similar for the two styles, with the exception of the word final allophone of /n/, which is [n] in LT and [̃] i.e. nasalization in CT.

Although the phonemic inventory is the same, the two styles show a number of differences in the distribution of the individual phonemes. These are classified and listed in the section below. Some of the correspondences found are regular, i. e. they are predictable in terms of the LT phonemic environment. Others are confined to limited lists of items. The

historical relationship between the LT and CT forms has not yet been investigated in detail. It was found convenient, however, to give lists of correspondences arranged as they might be arranged in a comparative historical study, with the LT forms taken as primary.[5] Process terminology is occasionally used, although this does not necessarily have historical implications.

2.1 Final consonant correspondences.

CT has no final consonants with the exception of final /n/, (phonically [ɴ]) and of the final /m/ in /oom/ 'name of the deity' (a Sanskrit loanword used in prayer). The various correspondences of final LT consonantal themes are listed below.[6]

(1) CV*y* regularly corresponds to CV

paay	*paa*	matress
ṭeey	*ṭee*	rub
kaay	*kaa*	nut
naay	*naa*	dog
nooy	*noo*	disease
vaay	*vaa*	mouth

(2) CV*y* regularly corresponds to CV*yyi*

piy	*piyyi*	tear
ney	*neyyi*	ghee
cey	*ceyyi*	do
kay	*kayyi*	hand
vay	*vayyi*	put
poy	*poyyi*	lie (untruth)

(3) Final -*ay* regularly corresponds to -*e*

piḷḷay	*piḷḷe*	chlld
ṭoṇṭay	*ṭoṇṭe*	throat
caṭṭay	*caṭṭe*	shirt
kaṭṭay	*kaṭṭe*	block of woop
kaṭay	*kaṭe*	shop

vaṭay	*vaṭe*	an edible
malay	*male*	mountain
naṭay	*naṭe*	step

(4) Monosyllabics of the structure (C)VC_1, where C_1 is either /*n*/, /*ṇ*/, /*l*/, or /*ḷ*/, regularly correspond to (C) VC_1C_1*u*.

pen	*pennu*	pen
peṇ	*peṇṇu*	woman
kaṇ	*kaṇṇu*	eye
uṇ	*uṇṇu*	eat
pal	*pallu*	tooth
vil	*villu*	bow
kaḷ	*kaḷḷu*	toddy
eḷ	*eḷḷu*	sesame

(5) Final -*m* corresponds to final -*n* in some polysyllabic words.

koṭam	*koṭon*	pot, vessel
paṭam	*paṭon*	picture
ṭiirkkam	*ṭiirkkon*	valor

(6) In the following items (C) V*m* corresponds to (C)V*mmo*

nam	*nammo*	our
um	*ommo*	your (cf. 19)

(7) In one other item CVV*m* corresponds to CVV*mo*.

naam	*maamo*	we

(8) In most other themes the final -C_1 corresponds to -C_1*u*. For exceptions cf. 3.2, 3.4.

paal	*paalu*	milk
ṭool	*ṭoolu*	skin
aaḷ	*aaḷu*	person
maan	*maanu*	deer
aṇil	*aṇilu*	squirrel
kaṭal	*kaṭalu*	sea

pensil	*pensilu*	pencil
uuẓ	*uuẓu*	fate
uyir	*uyiru*	life
ṭayir	*ṭayiru*	yogurt
avar	*avaru*	he (remote)
ivar	*ivaru*	he (proximate)
kaṭavuḷ	*kaṭavuḷu*	god

2.2 Non-final consonant correspondences.

(9) CT has no intervocalic *-tt-*. LT medial *-tt-* reguarlly corresponds to *-ṭṭ*.

aattil	*aaṭṭle*[7]	in the river-
kaattil	*kaaṭṭle*	in the air
uuttu	*uuṭṭu*	spring, fountain
maattu	*maaṭṭu*	change
eettu	*eeṭṭu*	drive
uttu	*uṭṭu*	looking with keennees
vittaan	*viṭṭaan*	he sold
vatte	*vaṭṭe*	to dry

(10) Medial *-tC₁-* corresponds to *-C₁C₁-*.

kaṭci	*kacci*	party, association
paṭci	*pacci*	bird
keeṭke	*keekke*	to hear
uṭkaarṇṭaan	*okkaaṇṭaan*	he sat (cf. also-15, 19)

(11) Medial *-kk-* after LT *-y-* or *-i-* regularly corresponds to *-kky*

asaykke	*asekye*	to shake
aṭikke	*aṭikkye*	to beat
paṭikke	*paṭikkye*	to learn
paṭaykke	*paṭekkye*	to offer to gods

(12) Intervocalic *ṇṇV*, *llV*, *ḷḷV*, and *vvV* regularly correspond to *ṇ*, *l*, *ḷ* and *v* before consonants.

kaṇṇil	*kaṇle*	in the eye (locative)
kolluvaan	*kolvaan*	he will kill
koḷḷuvaan	*koḷvaan*	he will have
evvaḷavu	*evḷavu*	how much

(13) Medial *-ẓ-* before *ṇṭ* regularly corresponds to zero.

avuẓṇṭu	*avuṇṭu*	untied
kavuẓṇṭu	*kavuṇṭu*	toppled

(14) Medial *y* after *-a-* in polysyllabic words regularly corresponds to zero; the *-a-* appears as *-e-* cf. also (3).

aṭaykka	*aṭekkye*	to shut
uṭaykka	*oṭekkye*	to break
paṭayṭṭaan	*paṭeccaan*[8]	he offered (to god)

(15) Medial *-rr-* corresponds to zero before C_1C_1 or nasal plus homorganic consonant in the items below.

uṭkaarṇṭaan	*okkaaṇṭaan*	he sat
nirrkkirraan	*nikkrraan*	he is standing
paarkkirraan	*paakkrraan*	he is seeing
paarṭṭaan	*paaṭṭaan*	he saw

(16) In a few other items medial *-rr-* corresponds to *-l-* before geminates.

parrppoṭi	*palppoṭi*	tooth powder
karrṭṭuuṇ	*kalṭṭuuṇ*	stone pillar
karrccaṭṭi	*kalccaṭṭi*	stone vessel

(17) C_1VC_2 corresponds to C_1C_2 in some items.

kaṇṇil	*kaṇḷe*	in the eye, cf also 3.4
ooṭinaan	*ooṭṇaan*	he ran
caaṭṭinaan	*caaṭṭṇaan*	he pointed to him (for something)

(18) Initial *m-* corresponds to *v-* in the following word.

miisay	*viise*	mustache

2.3. Vowel correspondences.

(19) *i* and *u* in the first syllable of polysyllabic words correspond to *e* and *o* respectively before *-a* in the next syllable. The *a* before final LT *-m* becomes *-o-* before final CT *-n;* cf. (27). Elsewhere it appears as *e*.

iṭam	*eṭon*	place
iṇaṅku	*eṇeṅku*	agree
ṭirrappu	*ṭerreppu*	opening
pirrappu	*perreppu*	birth
piraṇṭay	*pereṇṭe*	a creeper
ulakam	*olekon*	world
urraṅku	*orreṅku*	sleep
kuraṅku	*koreṅku*	monkey
piẓayppu	*poẓeppu*	a living, cf. also(14)
vilay	*vele*	price, cf. also (3)
kiḷay	*keḷe*	branch
kulay	*kole*	killing
kuṭay	*koṭe*	umbrella

(20) Initial LT *i-* corresponds to CT zero in the items below.

impa	*mpa*	a call for cows
iṇṭaa	*ṇṭaa*	an expression

		used when giving something to someone
iraṇṭu	*reṇṭu*	two, cf. also (19)

(21) In one other instance *ee* corresponds to *yaa*.

een	*yaan*	why

(22) The above correspondences are not found in the word *ivar* '*he*', and before geminate consonants.

ivar	*ivaru*	he
ivarukku	*ivarukku*	to him
kupparre	*kupparre*	upside down
kuṭṭacci	*kuṭṭacci*	short girl
kuṭṭay	*kuṭṭe*	small pond
ṭillay	*ṭille*	name of a place
piḷḷay	*piḷḷe*	child
kiḷḷay	*kiḷḷe*	parrot

(23) Medial *-i-* is lost in CT after *l* or *rr* plus geminate *ṭṭ*. cf also (9).

vaaẓṭṭinaan	*vaaẓṭṭnaan*	he praised
ṭaaẓṭṭinaan	*ṭaaẓṭṭnaan*	he lowered
nakarṭṭinaan	*nakaṭṭnaan*	he moved (trans.)
	nakarṭṭnaan	
paṭarṭṭinaan	*paṭaṭṭnaan*	he spread (trans,)
	paṭarṭṭnaan	

(24) Medial *u* is lost in these two items.

ṭamiẓukku	*ṭamiẓkku*	to or for Tamil
kaṭavuḷ	*kaṭavḷu*	god

(25) C_1iC_2- correspond to C_1C_2- in the following words.

pilaavu	*plaavu*	jack tree
miḷa	*mḷaavu*	an animal
kiṭaa	*kṭaavu*	buffalo
kiḷappu	*kḷappu*	hotel

(26) In many polysyllabic words the vowel in the second syllable corresponds to zero.

paakkiyam	*paakkyon*	personal name
ooṭinaan	*ooḍṇaan*	he ran
paaṭinaan	*paaṭṇaan*	he sang
evvaḷavu	*evḷavu*	how much
koḷḷuvaan	*koḷvaan*	he will have
kolluvaan	*kolvaan*	he will kill
kaṇṇil	*kaṇḷe*	in the eye
maappiḷḷay	*maappḷe*	son-in-law
kaṭṭinaan	*kaṭṭnaan*	he cried

(27) *-a-* before final *-m* ordinarily corresponds to *o* before final CT *-n*. This vovel change is connected with final consonant correspondence (5).

koṭam	*koṭon*	pot
paṭam	*paṭon*	picture
ṭiirkkam	*ṭiirkkon*	valor

(28) Final *-an* corresponds to *-en* (phonetically) nasalized *e*) in the items below.

avan	*aven*	he
caṉṭiran	*caṉṭren*	moon
ivan	*iven*	he
makan	*maken*	son

(29) *-an* corresponds to *-on* in the following single item,

kaṭan	*kaṭon*	debt

(30) Final *-u* corresponds to final *-e* in these two items.

iṅku	*iṅke*	here
eṅku	*eṅke*	where

2.4 Some correspondences involve sequences of consonants and vowels. Correspondences (3) (14) and (5), and (27) might have been listed in this category. Others are:

(31) Medial *ak* corresponds to *-o-*.

marumakan	*marumoen*	son-in-law
marumakaḷ	*marumoa*	daughter-in-law

(32) In the following words final - *ẓuṭu* correspond, to zero or final *n* (nasal phonetically).

ippoẓuṭu	*ippo∽ ippon*	now
appoẓuṭu	*appo∽ appon*	then
eppoẓuṭu	*eppo∽ eppon*	when

(33) In two other instances CT has final *-vu* where LT has zero.

miḷaa	*mḷaavu*	an animal
kiṭaa	*kṭaavu*	buffalo

3. Tamil nouns are inflected for gender, number and case in that order. The arrangement of the suffixes in an inflected noun may be represented by A B C D E, where the symbols have the following values:

A stem
B stem formative if any
C gender suffixes if any, neuter is unmarked
D number, singular is unmarked
E case suffixes if any

Morphemes B–E are all suffixal morphemes occurring in the same relative order in LT and in CT. The two systems show differences, however, both in the shape of individual morphemes and in morpheme distribution. Some of these are illustrated in the section below.

3.1 Stem formatives.[9] Certain classes of nouns have morphs between the stems and the gender suffixes to which no meaning can be ascribed. These we call stem formatives: in Hockett's terminology they are empty morphs.[10] LT has *-ṭṭ-*, *-cc-*, and *-ṭṭ-* as stem formatives. All of them occur in CT. However, the distribution in CT differs from that in LT.

In LT, nouns in the neuter class which end in *-am* have the stem formative *-ṭṭ-* in the singular before case suffixes and this stem formative does not occur in the plural with or without case suffixes. But in CT this stem formative is found both in the singular and in plural before case suffixes. In the plural with case suffixes the alternant form without the stem formative is also used. When there is no case suffix there is no stem formative either in the singular or in the plural.

	Stem	sg. with case suff.[11]	pl. without case suff.	pl. with case suff.	
LT	*maram*	*maraṭṭay*	*maraṅkaḷ*	*maraṅkaḷay*	tree
CT	*maron*	*maraṭṭe*	*maraṅko*	*maraṭṭuoḷe* or *maraṅkaḷe*	
LT	*paṭam*	*paṭaṭṭay*	*paṭaṅkaḷ*	*paṭaṅkaḷay*	picture
CT	*paṭon*	*paṭaṭṭe*	*paṭaṅko*	*paṭaṭṭuoḷe* or *paṭaṅkaḷe*	

The other stem formatives *-cc-* and *-ṭṭ-* have similar distributions in LT and CT.

3.2 Gender. Neuter is unmarked both in LT and CT. The masculine gender suffixes in LT are zero. Except for the phonologically conditioned

morphophonemic alterations there is no difference whether they occur finally or nonfinally.[12] In CT the suffix *-an* has the allomorphs *-en* in final position, cf. correspondence (28). Thus, LT forms *ṭooẓanay* 'friend (male)' correspond to CT forms *ṭooẓen*, *ṭooẓane*.

The same type of difference as in the masculine is found in the distribution of the feminine suffixes. The feminine suffixes in LT are *aḷ aaḷ*, *i*, and *o*, and they are the same whether they occur finally or non-finally. Allomorphs of the suffixes *aḷ* and *aaḷ* in CT are conditioned by the positions. The form in final position drops the *-ḷ*. Thus, LT forms '*makaḷay*' daughter' correspond to CT *maka*, *makaḷe* and LT *akkaaḷ*, *akkaaḷay* 'elder sister' correspond to CT *akkaa*, *akkaaḷe*.

3.3 Number. Singular is unmarked both in LT and CT. The noun plurals in LT may be classified into four classes according to the suffixes they have. The plural suffixes in LT are *kaḷ*, *kkaḷ*, *ar ∽ arkaḷ*, and *aar ∽ aarkaḷ*[13] There is no difference whether these suffixes occur finally or non-finally.

In CT, the nouns fall under eight different classifications. The plural suffixes are different whether they occur finally or non-finally. The two systems are tabulated below illustrating the difference. Numbers I II III and IV in the following classification indicate the nouns in LT and the subdivisions a, b, c within the numbers indicate the classification in CT of that particular class in LT.

		Final	Non-final	
Ia	LT	*-kaḷ*	*-kaḷ-*	
		maraṅkaḷ	*maraṅkaḷay*	trees
	CT	*-ko*	*uoḷ ∽ kaḷ ∽ kḷ*	

		maraṅko	*marraṭṭuoḷe* ∽ *maraṅkaḷe* ∽ *maraṅkḷe*	
Ib	LT	*-kaḷ*	*-kaḷ-*	
		makkaḷ	*makkaḷay*	children
	CT	*-ko*	*kaḷ* ∽ *kḷ*	
		makko	*makkaḷe* ∽ *makkḷe*	
Ic	LT	*kaḷ*	*-kaḷ*	
		maaṇavikaḷ	*maaṇavikaḷay*	students (fem.)
	CT	*-yo*	*yoḷ*	
		maaṇaviyo	*maaṇaviyoḷe*	
IIa	LT	*-kkaḷ*	*-kkaḷ*	
		puukkaḷ	*puukkaḷay*	flowers
	CT	*-kko*	*-oḷ-* ∽ *-kkaḷ-* ∽ *-kkḷ-*	
		puukko	*puuoḷe* ∽ *puukkaḷe* ∽ *puukkḷe*	
IIIa	LT	*-ar* ∽ *-arkaḷ*	*-ar-* ∽ *-arkaḷ-*	
		avar ∽ *avarkaḷ*	*avar* ∽ *avarkaḷ*	they (no gender)
	CT	*aṅko* ∽ *aṅke*	*-kaḷ-* ∽ *-kḷ-*	
		avaṅko ∽ *avaṅke*	*avaṅkaḷe* ∽ *avaṅkḷe*	
IIIb	LT	*-ar* ∽ *-arkaḷ*	*-ar-* ∽ *-arkaḷ-*	
		avar ∽ *avarkaḷ*	*avar* ∽ *avarkaḷ*	(they)
	CT	*-uo*	*-uoḷ-*	
		avanuo	*avanuoḷe*	they (mas)
		avaḷuo[14]	*avaḷuoḷe*	they (fem)
IIIc	LT	*-ar* ∽ *-arkaḷ*	*-ar-* ∽ *-arkaḷ-*	
		maaṇavar	*maaṇavaray*	students (male)
		maaṇavarkaḷ	*maaṇavarkaḷay*	
	TC	*-uo* ∽ *-ko* *-ke*	*-uoḷ-* ∽ *-kaḷ-* ∽ *-kḷ-*	
		maaṇavanuo	*maaṇavanuoḷe*	
		maaṇavaṅko	*maaṇavaṅkaḷe*	
		maaṇavaṅke	*maaṇavaṅkḷe*	
IVa	LT	*-aar* ∽ *-aarkaḷ*	*-aar-* ∽ *-aarkaḷ-*	
		naaṭaar ∽ *naaṭaarkaḷ*	*naaṭaaray* ∽ *naaṭaarkaḷay*	name of a caste

	TC	*-uo* ∽ *-ko* ∽ *-ke*	*-uoḷ-* ∽ *-kaḷ-* ∽ *-kḷ-*
		naaṭaanuo	*naaṭaanuoḷe*
		naaṭaaṅko	*naaṭaaṅkaḷe*
		naaṭaaṅke	*naaṭaaṅkḷe*

Except for the free variations in III and IV the plural suffixes in LT are always *kaḷ* or *kkaḷ*. In CT, however, the nonfinal allomorphs of the plural suffixes always end in *ḷ*, and those of final position end in either *-o* or *-e*.

The demonstrative pronouns *avan* 'he' (remote) *ivan* 'he' (proximate) the interrogative pronoun *evan* who', and the noun *makan* 'son', have three forms in LT: masculine sg, feminine sg., and plural without gender. The plural may refer to masculine plural, feminine plural, or both. In CT, however, they have five forms: masculine sg., feminine sg, plural without gender, masculinc plural, and feminine plural. They are given below:

LT

mas.	fem.	pl. no gender
avan	*avaḷ*	*avar* ∽ *avarkaḷ*
ivan	*ivaḷ*	*ivar* ∽ *ivarkaḷ*
evan	*evaḷ*	*evar* ∽ *evarkaḷ*
makan	*makaḷ*	*makkaḷ*

CT

mas sg.	fem. sg.	pl. no gender	mas. pl.	fem. pl.
aven	*ava*	*avaṅko*	*avanuo*	*avaḷuo*
iven	*iva*	*ivaṅko*	*ivanuo*	*ivaḷuo*
even	*eva*	*evaṅko*	*evanuo*	*evaḷuo*
maken	*maka*	*makko*	*makanuo*	*makaḷuo*

3.4 Case morphemes. Differences in the case suffixes between the two systems are confined to the

shape of cognate morphemes. The correspondence in the accusative case suffix (*-ay* corresponding to *-e*) has been covered under the general phonological changes (3). The rest of the case suffixes, which do not come under the phonological correspondences are tabulated below in the two systems.

	LT	CT	
Inst.	*-aal*	*-aale*	
	maraṭṭaal	*maraṭṭaale*	by the tree
Conj.	*-ooṭu*	*-ooṭe*	
	avanooṭu	*avanooṭe*	with him
Dat	*-kku*	*kki*	after front vowels /*i*/ or /*e*/ in the preceding syllable; -kku elsewhere
	panaykku	*panekki*	to the palmyrah tree
	maṇikku	*maṇikki*	to Mr. Maṇi
	avanukku	*avanukku*	to him
Abl.	*-iliruṇṭu*	*-leruṇṭu*	
	maraṭṭiliruṇṭu	*maraṭṭleruṇṭu*	from the tree
Gen.	*-uṭaye*	*ooṭe*	
	ennuṭaye	*ennooṭe*	my
Loc.	*-il*	*-le*	
	maraṭṭil	*maraṭṭle*	in the tree
'among'[15]	*-il -ukkuḷḷe*	*-ḷe*	
	maraṅkaḷil	*maraṅkaḷḷe*	
	maraṅkaḷukkuḷḷe	*maraṭṭuoḷḷe*	

Similar differences both in the shapes and in the distribution of the morphemes are found in the verbal system also. *ceyṭaay* 'you did' and *piriṇṭaay* 'you separated (intransitive)' which have the same past tense suffix *-ṭ-* come under a single class in LT. But in CT they come under two different classes since the first one has the past tense *-ṭ-* whereas the second one has the past tense suffix *-c-*: *ceyṭe* 'you did', *piriñce* 'you separated'. There is, in fact, no past tense *-c-* suffix in LT.

4. Conclusion

The above data, incomplete as they are, should be sufficient to illustrate the distinct nature of the two styles. From the point of view of history they seem to represent two different stages of development of the language existing side by side. A complete explanation of the historical relationship between the two will require more comparative study and above all additional information on local dialects which have not been studied so far. The results of such a study, aside from being of interest to historical linguists, should also provide valuable information regarding population movements and social change.

The existence of the two styles also has a number of more practical implications Aside from the features illustrated here, there are of course a number of additional differences in vocabulary and syntax. Acquisition of literacy in Tamil therefore requires much more than learning the alphabet. It is more like learning a second language. This fact has not been considered so far in the teaching of literacy and the language arts. Teaching materials which take account of the realities of spoken and literary styles could effect great improvements in the efficiency of present methods.

2. Sir George A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1927, did not cover the Tamil speaking areas of Madras State and Travancore Cochin. Some features of Tamil caste dialects are described in Jules Bloch, *Castes et dialectes en tamoul. Mémoires de la Sociétè de Linguistique* 16. 1 - 30 (1909). In regard to the uniformity of speech among educated Tamils, note Bloch's statement that special features of Brahmin speech are dropped in contacts with non-Brahmins (ibid. 29).

3. There are two recent publications dealing with the *Phonemics of Sanskritized Tamil, Language* 30. 362-7 (1954), and Gordon H. Fairbanks, *Frequency and Phonemics, Indian Linguistics* 17. 105-13 (1957). Fowler's analysis (from here on referred to as ST) seems to represent a more formal variety of Tamil, closer to the Pandit style. His system consists of five unitary vowels *i e a o u*, occurring as simple vowels or geminates and 22 consonants *p b t d ṭ ḍ k g m n ṇ l ḷ v c ṛ x h w y r ḻ*. Fairbanks' system represents the CT as given here. In the footnotes to his paper Fairbanks has pointed out some of the differences between his and Fowler's analysis. We will here list those differences not mentioned by Fairbanks.

ST does not have æ. In LT and CT æ is found in words borrowed from English: (bænk) 'bank', (bæt) 'bat'. *h* in ST corresponds to [*x*~*r*] in LT and CT an allophone of *k*.

The contrast between *x* and *ç* in ST [*k'ʌxçI*] 'a measure of weight', and [*k'ʌttsI*] 'girdle' is not found in CT for the simple reason that [*kaxçu*] is a literary word, not now in use. In LT the above are [*k'ʌhsI*] and [*k'ʌcc'Ī*] where [*h*] may be analyzed as an allophone

of *k* occurring before fricatives, the allophones of the respective stops and before retroflex flap [*ṛ*] an allophone of *ṭ*. Other citations illustrating this allophone are [*?ʌhxi*] 'that', [*?ʌhxi*] 'shrink' etc. All these forms including [*k'ʌhsI*] are found in ancient literature and not used in modern Tamil.

The phonemes *f* and *ç* are found only in borrowed words, *f* in words like *film* 'film', *kaafi* 'coffee *soofa* 'sofa', etc. all borrowed from English and *ç* only in the word *çinti* 'Hindi'. In the speech of the uneducated *çinti* is *inti*.

The ST continuant *r* is analyzed as the geminate of the flap *ṛ*.

ST has only three nasals *m n ṇ*. Both in LT and CT six nasals have to be recognized, (or five if a different solution is adopted). All the six nasals occur initially when referring to to the letters in the Tamil alphabetic system.

LT	CT	
makaram	*maanaa*	the letter *m*
ṉakaram	*ṉaanaa*	the letter *ṉ*
nakaram	*naanaa*	the letter *n*
ṇakaram	*ṇaanaa*	the letter *ṇ*
ñakaram	*ñaanaa*	the letter *ñ*
ṅakaram	*ṅaanaa*	the letter *ṅ*

Children are taught to distinguish these sounds in school. Of these, *m n ṇ* contrast in many environments. *ñ* occurs only in the above example and in *ñaayirru* 'sun, Sunday,' contrasting with *nyaayam* 'justice'. It might also be analyzed as *ni*, thus reducing the number of nasal phonemes to five. *n* contrasts with *ṅ* before *k* e. g. *ponkay* 'golden hand' *ṭaṅkay* 'youn-

ger sister'. *ṉ* is found only in the name of the letter quoted above.

Phonetic values of the above symbols are given in Fairbanks (ibid). The Fairbanks analysis has seven nasal vowels *e ee aa o oo u uu* occurring finally. These are analyzed as -Vn here. This is possible since we set up the two styles as two distinct systems. However, if we were to present an overall analysis of Tamil, we should have to set up the nasal vowels as separate phonemes.

5. In all the statements and in the examples that follow, the LT forms are given first and then the CT forms.

6. The statements of phonological correspondences are numbered consecutively in parenthes (1) to (33) through the subsections 2.1 – 2.4.

7. *-il* and *-le* are the LT and CT locative case suffixes (cf. 3.4).

8. *-tt-* and *cc-* are the LT and CT past tense suffixes.

9. The term 'stem formative' is an extension of the term 'formative suffixes' used by M.B. Emeneau. *Kolami – A Dravidian Language* (Berkeley. 1955). These suffixes could be analysed as part of the stems or as part of the suffixes that follow. But the existence of classes of nouns without these suffixes suggests the segmentation of these morphs though no meaning can be ascribed to them.

10. C.F. Hockett, *Problems of Morphemic Analysis, Language* 23. 321-43 (1947).

11. The examples are given only with the accusative case suffixes. The situation is the same for all the cases.

12. Before velar consonant, /n/ has the morphophonemic alternant /ṅ/.

13. In old Tamil *kaḷ* is the pluras luffix in neuter nouns and *ar*, *aar* are the plural suffixes in non-neuter nouns. In LT both forms *ar* ∽ *arkaḷ* and *aar* ∽ *aarkaḷ* are used though traditional Pandits would still insist upon the use of only *ar* and *aar*.

14. The *-an-* in *avanuo* is the masculine suffix; *-aḷ-* in *avaḷuo* is feminine suffix; *aṅ* in *avaṅko* ∽ *avaṅke* should be historically the masculine suffix. But when the form *avanuo* was used for the masculine plurual the form *avaṅko* ∽ *avaṅke* lost its reference to masculine gender and is now used for the plural without gender, either masculine, or feminine or both. Hence *aṅko* ∽ *aṅke* is taken to be the plural suffix.

15. The word 'among' is not a case name. It gives the meaning of this case form, which occurs in the plural.

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